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RECRUITMENT OF INDIAN FACTORY LABOUR.

RECENTLY the Indian and Ceylon Chambers of Commerce complained to the Government of India on the paucity of common unskilled labour for employment in mills, factories and mines. The Government of India has thereupon addressed the Governments of Bengal and United Provinces, drawing their attention to the complaint and suggesting the deputation of a civilian officer to conduct a special enquiry into the conditions of labour, the requirements of the capitalists and the availability of labour, and then to devise methods to secure a regular supply of labour, commensurate with the demands of the capitalists. The unhesitating confidence and ease with which the Government accepts the suggestions of European capitalists in all matters pertaining to the expansion and greater productiveness of foreign capital is quite in keeping with the haltings and the doubtings attendant upon every measure of Government calculated to improve the indigenous industries of the country. In all matters pertaining to the competition of English with Indian industries, the Government has been ever disposed to adopt the cry of "Hands off! And fair fight." With this apparent policy of fair play, the responsible rulers of this land have, with little or no compunction, allowed the various handicrafts, for which we were once famous to perish, and the artisans engaged therein to descend to the ranks of the half-famished agricultural day-labourer. On a superficial examination of this policy, one would perhaps be inclined to believe that the Government was acting on a consistent theory of Economics. But a careful enquiry into the methods adopted by Government for furthering the cause of the English planter in this country dispels any such illusion. The law of freedom of labour has

been amended in his behalf. The presumptions of the law of evidence have been subverted in his interest. Personal liberties of individuals and even the sacredness of the human personality have been violated to humour his caprices. Free competition and even-handed justice have no meaning when applied to the dealings of the planter with the indentured coolie. It is unnecessary to recount the harrowing tales of unnameable suffering to which the poor coolie is condemned. Such glaring injustice not only passes current in the name of civilised administration, but any chivalrous attempt at espousing the cause of the oppressed in this matter is attended with pains and penalties, as the case of Sir Arthur Cotton testifies. The earnest solicitude which the Government of India has displayed in the present instance is of a piece with its established policy of protection and coercion in favour of the British investor. It has not cared to enquire into the probable causes of the deficiency of supply, and by what methods and how far the same can be remedied. It assumes that the deficiency is due to the ignorance of the existing demand, and has determined that the demand shall be satisfied. We can only hope that this is not a precursor of more coercive legislation to come in restriction of freedom of labour and of contract.

The economic situation of this country is in the main favourable to the almost unrestricted supply of common unskilled labour. The low standard of life with which the ordinary labourer is content and the social institutions to which he is subject are productive of a very rapid increase of population, notwithstanding the adverse influences of famine and pestilence. The dislocation of ancient industries consequent on the competition of the cheap machine-made goods of the West is driving large classes of domestic handicraftsmen into dependence on the uncertain and scanty returns of Agriculture, as disclosed by the census figures. The ancient prejudices tending to restrict labourers to their caste occupations and to particular localities are wearing away as the ever-increasing stream of emigrants to Ceylon or even more distant countries evidences. Under these circumstances one would expect that the large influx of foreign capital seeking employment in this country would naturally attract a very large amount of the unskilled labour thus available. But the complaint of the Chambers of Commerce shows that this expectation is not realised. The members of these bodies and the Government of India are apparently inclined to believe that the ignorance of the labouring classes of the existence of the demand for labour is the sole cause of the paucity of operatives and that a systematic

publication from time to time of the extent of demand and supply will remedy the deficiency. Such an opinion, comforting as it may be, betrays an ignorance of the nature of the forces that impel movement of labour in this country or else a desire to artificially stimulate such movement notwithstanding adverse conditions. The Government of India notes, evidently with regret, the tendency of wages of unskilled labour to rise. It also expects that the steps to be taken in future to promote internal emigration will counteract this tendency. How far this will be possible of achievement, only events can show. But no true lover of this land can contemplate the enforced or artificially promoted supply of labour at the current rate of wages with any feelings other than those of repugnance and humiliation. It is true that wages are rising. But what wages? Wages as calculated in money. If it be remembered that the prices of the necessaries of life have during the last quarter of a century risen by 50 to 100 per cent., while the money wages have only risen by 20 per cent., it will be clear that wages, calculated in food grains, which constitute the greatest if not the only item of the poor man's expense in this country, have fallen. The Government, which never fails to remind the people of the increase in prices, while defending its policy of enhancing the land revenue, has chosen in this instance conveniently to forget the same. Instead of regretting the tendency of money wages to increase, we have ample cause to regret that it has not risen sufficiently enough to keep pace with the increase of prices. The common labourer has no other choice but to accept such wages as are offered to him, and we find that he is condemned to an ever-diminishing means of sustenance. If the supply of labour in certain tracts falls far short of the demand for the same, the causes of such a deficiency ought to be sought in the operation of ordinary economic forces which, when left to themselves, are bound in course of time to secure natural adjustment. In Western countries, competition has long been recognised as the chief agent in determining the rate of wages, competition between capitalists for employing labour tending to increase wages and competition between labourers to secure employment operating in a contrary direction. In the present economic condition of India, we find both kinds of competition almost non-existent, so far as day-labour is concerned. The labourer is accustomed to a particular rate of wages, and is satisfied if he can get the same. The idea that there is a great demand for his labour and that, if he holds out, he can have an increase of wages does not strike him. Having absolutely no reserve to fall back upon, in most

cases not even a day's meal in stock, he cannot choose but accept what is customary. Freedom of competition is a fiction when applied to one in his circumstances. In a season when business is slack, he submits even to a reduction of the customary wages as an unavoidable fate, and in seasons of business activity, he is satisfied with the restoration of the normal rate. He has no organisation which can support him when work is wanting, or enable him to hold on in expectation of a rise in wages. He has no intelligent leaders to acquaint him with the nature of the existing demand or the current rate of profits and thus put him in the way of securing equitable terms with his employer. Hence when a new business is started in any place, all the available labour is at once employed at the rate till then usual, and in the early stages of the industry, enough of cheap labour is secured with ease. This is facilitated by the existence in every large town of classes of men, who after persisting for some time in their ancient domestic arts and thus having maintained an unequal struggle against cheap imports are driven by absolute starvation to common unskilled labour. When an expanding industry has thus absorbed the existing labour supply, further expansion is arrested by the fact that at the current rate of wages any further increase of labour is not possible. The rate of wages current in a town is, when computed in money, no doubt greater than the rural rates. But if the rural and urban rates of wages be computed in kind—in the quantity of the staple food that can be purchased in the locality—the difference often vanishes. Further the condition of the town labourer receiving a higher rate of money wages is decidedly inferior to the country labourer renumerated at an apparently lower wage. In judging of their relative situation, the stand-point of the labourer himself is often forgotten.

The labourer in a village works by piece, and is therefore allowed to choose his own hours of labour. He works in a leisurely fashion no doubt, but working without pressure for a longer time turns out as much labour as his town compeer, if not more. A sense of ease and comfort is associated with his work. His occupation lends itself to variety. One who has been working under such conditions, when transported into a modern factory with its consecutive and regulated hours, its work under pressure and keen-eyed supervision, its unity and monotony of employment and its severity of discipline, chafes against what he considers as artificial restraints. To induce a rural labourer to submit himself to such unsavoury conditions, there must be offered temptations

more substantial than the current rate of town wages. That these wages, when calculated in the food grains they would purchase in the locality, are not so far above the village rates as they appear has been already pointed out. In making calculations of this kind, it is useless to depend upon the tables of retail prices, published from time to time in the Gazette of India. The common coolie does not purchase his grains generally in the markets in which these rates prevail. He generally buys from some petty neighbouring dealer who is often obliging enough to allow him credit for purchases made and even to make money advances in times of need. In consideration of such accommodation the coolie confines his patronage to the particular dealer who no doubt takes care to charge for the articles supplied at rates more than sufficient to cover ordinary risks. These charges for accommodation, the profits paid to the innumerable middle men through whose hands the grains pass, before they are available to the labourer in the town, and the costs of transport, often take away more than the difference between the rates of village and town wages. Further a town life is rendered more costly to the labourer by the necessity of paying heavily for house accommodation. In his own village, he has perhaps an ancestral cottage sufficient for his needs, and in spite of its drawbacks from an æsthetic or Engineering point of view, affords a comparatively healthy atmosphere and surroundings. In a town he has to pay a substantial part of his wages for permission to huddle himself and his family in some dirty, dingy quarter whose heavy-laden atmosphere and poisonous effluvia ever invite the elsewhere hapless floating, and starving pathogenetic agents to make it their permanent home. Wandering about his native village in spare but clean clothing, he must needs exchange the same for a fuller and apparently more decent but scarcely washed raiment. Such are the attractions of town labour to the poor, ignorant village coolie.

To these must now be added considerations of a different kind. The Indian labourer is a married or marrying man at an age when the Western factory operative would be rarely willing to exchange his single independence for matrimonial bondage. Without any capital stored up for setting up a house or for emergencies, the Indian coolie lad ventures into matrimony with an absolute confidence that his wife would make enough by her own labour for her living; and his children, if any, would, the moment they learn to twaddle about, be usefully employed in adding to the domestic stock of the means of subsistence. The various grades of labour required for

agricultural operations, the work of preparing the products of agriculture for the market and the rearing of live stock, all afford ample opportunities for the employment of feminine and juvenile labour. Scanty as are the precarious returns of such uncertain employments, they are still, in the calculations of the labourer, just sufficient in ordinary seasons to maintain himself and his family under that standard of life to which he and his neighbours are accustomed. The leisurely and rollicking coolie may at a pinch be driven under discipline, but the possibility of placing his wife's labour under the restrictions obtaining in a modern factory is repugnant to him in the extreme. The nature of rural feminine employments allows mothers intervals of time to attend to the needs of infants and young children and also look after the ordering of the house. The strenuous and consecutive labour in a factory does not allow of such attentions to merely human concerns. Nor does a town life afford other opportunities of profitable feminine employment. Children under such conditions become objects of greater care and anxiety. Absence of pasturage in or near about towns renders the rearing of live stock impossible. All these causes combine to threaten away rural labourers from a town life. The ignorant, unenterprising and unambitious rustic may not know anything about the law of demand and supply; he may not weigh each of the advantages and disadvantages on either side accurately and arrive at a nicely balanced judgment of the superiority of one mode of life over another; but he has yet not enough to judge in the gross, and hence is slow to be enticed by the allurements of modern organised labour. Where the advantages and temptations are distinct and tangible as in the case of the highly paid labour of Ceylon or other colonies, his prejudices and prepossessions do not stand in the way of improving himself. But the merely nominal higher rate of wages in a town and constancy of employment are not sufficient to induce him to exchange the free atmosphere and the scanty returns of an even unfertile soil to the so-called full meal in a cramped and foul atmosphere. The only method by which he could be induced to forsake his traditional methods of leisurely labour is to assure him greater comfort in return for more sustained application. His wages must be raised. Not merely the money wages. The money wages must be made capable of greater productiveness to him. This is the only sound economic method of attracting more labour to the new and the expanding industries. But the foreign capitalist is unwilling to adopt the only rational course open to him in a free country. The ease with

which the few labourers necessary for starting a concern on a small scale were obtainable at the low rate of customary wages, having secured to him a high rate of profit, he is anxious to secure the increased number of hands necessary for further extension of his operations at the same old rate, and for this purpose appeals to a paternal Government to make use of the semi-barbarous methods of compulsory labour which the civilised English rulers have already thought fit to impose on those whom they consider as their uncivilised subjects. Whence this anxiety to circumvent the legitimate effects of economic causes by adventitious means? Why should not labour be sought by the ordinary and well-known method of the offer of higher wages?

The growing material prosperity of India as evidenced by the large influx of precious metals into the country, the increasing flow of foreign capital for industrial and mercantile operations and the general rise of prices, is one of those articles of faith well advertised in Government Blue books and public orations of official and non-official apologists of our Governmental methods. The material prosperity of the country is a fact to be judged not by the figure *enmasse* of the quantities of metals—iron or gold—that may happen to come into the country, but by the quantity of rice or ragi that the average peasant is able to put into the cooking pot for himself and his family. Money wages may have risen, but the price of food grains having risen in a greater proportion, the quantity of food available for the ordinary labourer is day by day diminishing. Why has not the rise of wages kept pace with the rise of prices ? In every normally constituted self-governing country, an influx of foreign capital brings along with it an increase of ordinary wages and hence a promise of greater ease and comfort to the labourer. But to the average Indian labourer there is no such happy prospect under present conditions. An examination of the ways in which this foreign capital comes in, and the manner in which it is employed will explain this anomaly.

The Government has borrowed large sums of money in the English market for the construction of Railways. Private Companies have under the impetus of a Government guarantee invested large sums in similar undertakings. Besides, Industrial Corporations of various kinds have been started for the purpose of exploiting the resources of the country, and these also have sunk large capitals in their ventures. Why has not all this abundant addition to India's resources brought its legitimate tribute to the poor-man's pot.?

A considerable portion of the so-called capital with which India is said to be fructified comes in the shape of machinery and worked stores required for the construction and maintenance of Railways and the equipment of Factories and Mines. Though India has been under the tutelage of the most civilised nation on the earth, for over a century, till now no systematic attempt has been made by the Government to encourage the manufacture of any portion of such machinery and stores in India itself. In fact the recent complaint of the Engineering and Iron Trades Association of Calcutta proves that the Government has not been willing to utilise even the few existing facilities for obtaining an indigenous supply of such articles. The necessity of humoring the large class of British capitalist supporters of the Home Government and of providing full employment for British workmen takes precedence over the development of the internal resources of India. Being the largest importer of European machinery and stores, the Government is in a position, if it thinks fit, to establish manufacturing workshops to meet its own demands. Herein, however, the doctrine of free mercantile competition and economic unsoundness of Government undertakings comes in aid of the Government conscience. Compare with this the action of the Japanese Government which has only recently profited by a knowledge of Western methods. The Meji Government has systematically attempted to establish, on its own account, manufactories for supplying the Government needs. Wherever these have been successfully established, they were subsequently handed over to private enterprise. By such methods Japan is now able to secure almost all its Telegraphic stores, and nearly 80 per cent. of its Railway material from its own workshops. But we shall have to wait for centuries before we can show a similar state of industrial independence. We must meanwhile accept all these imported materials as additions to the capital charges against our country. We have next to take into account that portion of the remaining capital available for working expenses which is spent in the maintenance of European supervisors of Government and private, Railways and industries. In all undertakings public and private subsidised by foreign capital, the employment of Indians has been restricted to the lowest kind of unskilled work. No attempt has ever been made to initiate the Indian talent in the methods of business and industrial organisation. Of late more rigorous methods have been adopted to make a mystery of scientific departments with the object of keeping them as close preserves to highly paid European

and Anglo-Indian hands. A Government which is bent upon keeping down Indian talent cannot very well expect private European enterprise to take any steps at training the natives of the country. The departments of Government employing English experts have been multiplied of late with the apparent object of developing Indian resources, but there is a complete absence of any measures calculated to initiate the educated youths of this country into these scientific pursuits and thus to render these departments at any distant period independent of European supply. English investors are never tired of asserting that they are adding to the assets of this country by their capital contributions, but have rarely paused to enquire how much of the working portion of such capital goes towards maintaining their own countrymen at phenomenal rates. In fact many of the industries are started by Englishmen in search after remunerative employment for themselves, and further expansion is sought mainly as a source of additional income. These payments to the English Superintendents of industries constitute a heavy prohibitive tax on such operations. We should willingly submit all our enterprises to such taxation, even to a further increase of it, if the persons on whose behalf it is paid are willing and qualified to afford instruction and practical training to our own youths in their occupations and thus afford a reasonable prospect of future industrial independence. But English Superintendents of these concerns have rarely the capacity, and much less the inclination, to render such service to the country from whose life and blood they derive their princely incomes. The only hope of our securing our industrial emancipation is by the establishment of technical institutions and even more by our youths securing the necessary training from other countries. Till such time we shall have to submit to this serious deduction of the country's floating capital available for the payment of wages. The desire to maintain the high rate of profit obtainable at the inception of the new organisations, and to secure as large a share of the working capital to themselves, are the leading causes that hold back the managers of such enterprises from offering the higher rate of wages necessary to secure the increase of labour necessary for further enlargements, and induce them to seek the aid of the Government in obtaining the additional labour needed on the same terms as those at which they have been able to obtain their early batch of labourers. It therefore behoves the leaders of our various communities to keep watch over this new movement to organise an internal emigration Bureau in the

interests of foreign capital and take timely steps to prevent any possibility of more extensive labour laws after the pattern of the Assam or the later Madras laws.

We shall now consider what steps should be taken to secure a constant supply of requisite labour for mills, factories and mines in localities where it is not now available. The Government of India desire that the new Labour Commissioner to be appointed should study the requirements of the employer. What is more urgently required is a study of the grievances and the needs of the employed. The expansion of our industries cannot await the time when the machinery and skilled supervision necessary for their conduct would be obtainable at a cheaper rate from our own country. Hence a large increase in the proportion of the capital available for an increase of wages commensurate with the required increase of labour supply is a very far off contingency. But the proportion now spent on wages may be made productive of greater comfort for the wage-earners. First and foremost is the provision of sufficient and healthy living house space for the operatives. Wherever possible these must be provided, not in the centre of towns, but in the outskirts thereof, so as to afford a sufficiency of garden and pasturage for domestic and feminine labour. The prospect of increasing their usual wage income by the results of garden labour during leisure periods and by the rearing of live stock with the aid of the labour of women and children will be a substantial inducement enough to attract large batches of rural day-labourers to submit themselves to the routine and discipline of the workshops or the factory.

Further the wages they earn must be made to contribute a maximum of the necessaries of life possible. The causes that limit their present utility to the labourer have been already pointed out. The large number of middlemen through whose hands the articles of their consumption pass and who take away their share of his wages may be dispensed with, with a little trouble and less cost. The industrial situation of Japan at a very early stage disclosed the existence of similar burdens on the labourer that tended to diminish his real wages and the wise leaders of Japan's industrial organisations took effective steps to assure to the labourer a full return for his labour. The following extracts from "Japan by the Japanese" will give some idea of these measures.

"Operatives may further be divided into two classes, day-workers and boarding-workers, the former residing in the vicinity

of the workshops, and the latter those who have come from distant places, and are provided homes and board by the employers.......... it is in the fibre works of various sorts that the boarding system most obtains, some weaving establishments having as much as 70 to 80 per sent. of boarders."

"The mine workers are generally housed in buildings provided by their employers, those coming from long distances frequently settling down in the vicinity, and there making their homes and finishing their lives. Those without families live for the most part in large common rooms, and are provided with food at a low rate of cost by the mine operators.

"In case of accident while on duty, the employers are bound to care for the injured, and when these are treated in hospitals other than those of the mine, a sum of money must be given to meet the expense. In case of disablement compensation is paid, and in the event of death a stated amount is allowed the family for funeral expenses. In the better class of mines there are mutual aid associations, in which reserve funds are created, and to which, in addition to contributions from the workers themselves, the owners, and sometimes outside persons charitably disposed, make donations. In granting relief from such funds, the amount given is fixed, all things being equal, according to the length of time the recipient has been a member, or according to his position or according to both these conditions.

"In the shops at the mine (The Ashio Copper Mine) provided by the mine management are to be obtained all the tools and materials necessary for the work at the mine, besides provisions and necessary articles for the officials and men. These things are sold to the men at the original cost, thus enabling them to live very cheaply and economically. Besides these shops, there are thousands of retail merchants in the neighbourhood of the mine, but they find it impossible to compete with the wholesale prices of the mining shops. The cost of articles thus purchased is deducted from the wages of the miners, and the men thus derive greater benefit than they would under the co-operative system in vogue in Europe and America."

Organizers of Indian industries may very well profit by the example of Japan. The social institutions peculiar to this country render it practically impossible to establish common boarding houses for all classes of operatives. But we can do the next best thing ; lodging houses could be provided, and the employers of

labour may undertake the duty of supplying the necessaries of life at wholesale cost prices. This will enhance the value of present wages to the wage-earner by as much as 50 %. The workman should be trained to habits of thrift by organization of co-operative stores and savings banks. All temptations to extravagance and anticipation of income should be rigidly excluded.

In this connection the suggestion of the Government of India that along with labourers, maistries or minor supervisors of labour should be recruited from the same localities, needs reconsideration. Speaking with some knowledge of such a system obtaining in certain parts of Southern India and Ceylon, wherein the maistries go by the name of 'Kanganies', we unhesitatingly assert that no better system could be devised to keep the common labourer in a state of abject servitude and everlasting misery. Ostensibly employed in the interest of the labourers the Kanganies exploit the labourers themselves. By pandering to their worst whims and fancies, they manage to secure the labourers in permanent bondage to themselves. They are generally men of little education and no status. They have not the least idea of either the dignity or freedom of manhood, and are ever ready to further their own pecuniary interest at whatever sacrifice of the interests of the labourers, whose champions they are supposed to be. They act as bankers with whom the poor cooly invests his little savings at low rates of interest, and this banker, unlike ordinary bankers, is ever on the watch for opportunities to promote large borrowings from himself. He notes the various domestic incidents of the labourer's family, both at the place as well as in his native home, very obligingly ; he pretends to keep the labourer above want, and readily advances, with no other security than the person of the labourer himself, all that the coolie's extravagance may induce him to spend on the occasion. Taking care to charge as high a rate of interest as the poor man's idea of propriety would safely allow him to, he takes back his advances, by monthly or weekly instalments, as the case may be. The cooly, ignorant of the accounts, is entirely at the mercy of his Kangani. Such a system, by encouraging extravagance on the one hand, and intolerable usury on the other, often takes away all the extra advantage which the labourer hopes to reap by transferring the scene of his labours to distant and inclement spheres.

No improvement in the lot of the labourers can be effected under such a system. Some more rational and humane method of keeping control over the labourers and protecting their interest as

against those of the employers ought to be devised. In virtue of the terms of his employment, the Kangani is absolutely unfit to represent the grievances of the labourers to their European master. He can but mercilessly carry out, often with a liberal use of the whip, the disciplinary orders of his superiors. If the labourers are to be protected against unfair treatment, their grievances redressed, their material interests safeguarded and advanced, it must be by the intervention of a class of intermediaries, entirely different from the class of Kanganies. We want intelligent, educated young Indians who with some little training could get profitable employment of some kind in these industrial enterprises, and who, deriving a remuneration sufficient to place them above the temptation of exploiting the poorly paid labourer, could be trusted to act as proper interpreters between the representatives of the capital on the one hand and the labourers on the other. The inability of European employers to understand and appreciate the difficulties or social necessities of Indian labourers, has often led to the adoption of disciplinary measures utterly repugnant to the labourer and is therefore causing frequent dislocation of business. The gradual training up of educated Indians to the task of organising labour, if not to other technical departments of industrial concerns, is the only sure method of securing a peaceful expansion of the existing labour-supply and making it from time to time commensurate with the needs of growing industries.

Such are some of the methods which appear to be capable of effecting the object of the capitalists, and it is to be hoped that the growth of the material prosperity of this country will be secured by methods analogous to those indicated and that the annals of the British Government in the future will not be disgraced by any extension of such cruel and barbarous laws as are now found in the Statue Books, but whose application is at present restricted only to a few localities and select industries.

INDIAN DEPUTATION TO ENGLAND.

A question of considerable importance to the Indian political party was raised by Sir Ferozeshah Mehta at a recent public meeting held in Bombay to nominate delegates to represent that Presidency on the Indian deputation to England. His view is that there is no use in keeping Indian affairs out of English party politics and that India should throw in its lot with the Liberal party. This view doubtless receives considerable support from Indian politicians; but there are also many who are not prepared to endorse it, since in their opinion India is not likely to receive greater help and support from one party than from the other. The dissenters point to the fact that as regards India the Liberal party has not acted according to its principles and that very often she has received substantial benefits at the hands of the Conservatives. There is no doubt some truth in this, but it is not the entire truth. The Liberal party may have frequently failed to stand by liberal principles in dealing with India; but it cannot be charged with having been instrumental in forcing reactionary legislation on this country, with having deliberately thrown back its political progress. Our recent experience of Sir Henry Fowler as Secretary of State for India is in a large measure accountable for the distrust of the Liberal party, and perhaps there are several others among the Liberal leaders who take the same view as he does of the responsibilities of their party to India. Any how we have not been able to count the Liberal leaders as our supporters, since the days of Bright and Fawcett. Even Gladstone assumed towards India an attitude which did not justify a complete reliance on that statesman as our friend and supporter.

The question then is whether we are likely to change this attitude of the Liberal statesmen by placing our exclusive faith in their party and by declaring our exclusive allegiance to it. If we cannot do this, what is the advantage in alienating from us even those Conservatives who are disposed to be sympathetic towards us? Party organisations work in a regular and systematic way; and party sympathies are not therefore likely to be deflected towards us unless we enlist the sympathy of party leaders. The Indian political party has certain definite objects in view and a

definite programme of reform. If the Liberal leaders will undertake to support us in our efforts, the support of the party will be assured to us. We have to see whether this will be possible. There are, indeed, individual Liberals who sympathise with us and are ready to support our demands for reform. Such sympathisers we have even among the Conservatives. But unless the leaders themselves agree to befriend our cause, it cannot in any sense be said that we have the party with us. Have we been promised, or are we likely to secure, the support of the Liberal party in this sense? Are the Liberal leaders prepared to support our demand for reform in the same way that they support, for example, the demand of the South African Boers for representative Government? Our chief aim is to secure a voice in the Government of the country for the people. But it cannot be said that the Liberal party is with us in this matter. In these circumstances we can only appeal to the sense of justice of the British Nation irrespective of the differences of party; for we have to secure just treatment by rousing their moral sense rather than their party sympathies.

What our delegates ought to do is, in the first place, to state our claims under Acts of Parliament and the Royal Proclamation, and to insist on those claims being satisfied; and secondly, to set forth the illiberal and reactionary measures inaugurated during the last ten years with a view to their being abrogated. While the promises made to us by Parliament and through the mouth of the Sovereign remain unfulfilled, the best efforts of our rulers have been directed within the last ten years to the undoing of the work accomplished by the great British statesmen who presided over the destinies of India before the degenerate race of Imperialists, who now influence the policy of the Empire, came into prominence. The spirit of British statesmanship has undergone a change for the worse, and while the "bastard" imperialists are panting for glory and territory, there are not wanting others who are bent on making money for themselves to the serious injury of the Empire. We have, however, too many of our own grievances to bother ourselves about these imperial matters. Let our delegates, therefore, address themselves to the redress of those grievances. From the days of the ill-starred Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin the reactionary policy of the Government has been in full force. Rights and privileges previously conferred have been withdrawn. Penal laws of the worst kind affecting freedom of thought and liberty of the Press have been passed. The administration of justice has been more

and more subordinated to the will of the executive. Local Self-Government and education have been restricted in their operation. The rights of Indians to higher offices in the State have been openly flouted. The expenses of the administration have been increased without due regard to the interests of the people. In India we have been unable to resist the tide. It will rest with our delegates to rouse the British public to this state of things in India, to appeal to their sense of justice, fairness and humanity, and to persuade them to take such steps as will ensure to us freedom from bad laws and from extravagance and the due recognition of our rights and privileges as citizens of the Empire. In doing this they will have to appeal to both parties, unless, indeed, the Liberal party consent to identify itself with us, and give us a pledge that it will, when restored to power, include Indian questions from the Indian point of view in its party programme. Except on the latter condition, it is, in our opinion, hopeless for us to expect any good from an alliance with the Liberal party; and until this condition is secured, our appeal should be made to the British Nation, and not to either party. We must insist on a due adherence to the policy enunciated in the charter granted to us by our Sovereign. This is the basis of our agitation and on that basis we must stand until party sympathies so turn that we may count upon the undivided support of a whole party.

AGGRESSIVE LAND BILLS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

THE Land Encroachment Bill which has recently been grafted into the Statute Book of the Madras Legislative Council is perhaps the first of a series of aggressive measures which the Government of Madras is determined to carry through in spite of severe opposition, in order to subvert the ancient and time-honoured ideas of soil proprietorship in land. The Land Estates Bill is another measure which has closely followed the principle of State landlordism asserted in the Encroachment Act without a shadow of right. In the hot discussion that ensued on the broad declaration of State ownership made in Clause 2 of the Encroachment Bill, and when amendments after amendments were proposed and seconded by the non-official minority simply to be thrown out by the determined and obstinate opposition of the official majority, the position assumed by the Government,—a position which has neither the sanction of the common law of the country, nor of a usage which affords a reasonable basis for it,—was that it was always interfering with the land affairs, and that this *interference* conferred on it a right of property over all lands. It is, therefore, a moot question whether the *interference* of Government in affairs connected with land is an exercise of the right of soil proprietorship such as would give it a claim to inflict on the agriculturists of the Presidency its own terms and conditions under which alone cultivable lands are to be occupied. It is very important to thresh out this question of State interference and examine it in all its bearings, and see whether that interference could at all be termed an exercise of proprietary right or it was simply an act of the executive administration. In defence of the State claim of over-landlordism, the Hon. Mr. M. Hammick has given a pretty clear account of what this interference of Government has been in the past. No doubt the Government has been doing from time to time a lot of things in the matter of land administration, as it seemed to it fit and proper; and the question whether these acts of interference amounted to anything like an exercise of proprietary right has to be considered not solely with reference to the position of the Government, but also with reference to the position of the ryots against whom these acts of interference

have been exercised. If for a moment we concede an important fact which has been assumed by Government, and there is reason to think that that assumption is altogether wrong, but on the basis of which the present Land Estates Bill has been constructed in certain material respects, the position and status of the ryots become at once clear. The leading assumption in attempting to define the substantive rights of the ryots, and in providing safe-guards against encroachments on those rights in the different clauses of the Estates Bill, is that the ryots are at a disadvantage in relation to their zemindars and other landlords, and are unable to assert their rights and privileges as against them. It can hardly be said that these landlords are a whit more powerful or influential than the official class with whom the ryots come in contact in every day affairs of life, and it stands to reason that if the ryots are unable to protect themselves against the violent proceedings of their landlords, their remedy against official doings or rather official misdoings is almost nil. Whatever the Government as represented by its officials did or said, the ryot had to acquiesce in or passively submit to, so that the interference of the Government in matters connected with the land has been more or less the despotic assertion of its sweet will and pleasure, tempered of course by an occasional display of tenderness of feeling for the interests of the helpless ignorant ryots. During the whole period that this *interference* ranged, there was, as now, no representation in the real sense of the term ; the mass of cultivators were illiterate and ignorant men incapable of appreciating the effects of any of the measures which Government chose to institute. In regard to land measures in particular, it should be said that none of them were openly discussed ; they were all inaugurated behind the back of the ryots, according to the notions which the officers charged with the administration of the country entertained concerning the ryots' rights and privileges ; and in fact there was hardly any application of the test of outside criticism to any of those measures. Under these circumstances, it is too much to assume that the several official acts, or more properly executive orders, constituted such an interference as would imply the exercise of a proprietary right in land, and that against persons who were and are quite incapable of defending themselves against any invasion of their private rights, remote or immediate. Here again an important distinction has to be borne in mind, between acts of Government constituting interference in *exercise of a right*, and executive orders merely issued for

the guidance and information of its subordinate officials. If during the last hundred years of British rule, the Government has been doing nothing else except merely issuing instructions to its officers to respect the communal arrangements made by the villagers in the matter of distribution of land, and to bring the official record in agreement with those arrangements, the issue of these instructions could hardly be construed as an act of interference in exercise of a right. There is nothing in the mass of official literature, so far as they are available to the public, to show that all these executive orders were issued in the exercise of a right, moral or legal, conferred by the common law of the country; and it would be amusing to notice how the Government has been by insensible steps gradually creating a record of interference, then making a pretentious declaration that that interference was in the *exercise of a right*, and finally throwing off the veil which concealed the insidious attempts at invasion of private rights, consummating their series of acts with a bold statutory declaration of absolute ownership over all lands. The history of land tenures in the Presidency shows unmistakably that, down to the British period, occupation and cultivation of land were guided by communistic principles, and that settlements of land revenue were always made with village communities. The distribution of land was never considered outside the scope of the village communities, and whether lands were set apart for public purposes or distributed for cultivation, it was always an internal arrangment of the villagers, guided as they were by the village heads and the council of elders, the Government or the King being considered only entitled to a share of the produce as Rajabhogam on the cultivated portion or to its equivalent in money value commuted at certain rates. Even the farmers or assignees of the Government, the modern zemindars, who were called into existence for collecting the Rajabhogam, did not choose, and in fact were not permitted, to interfere with the internal village arrangements in the matter of distribution of land. Whatever settlement was made for securing the land revenue, *i.e.*, the state share of the produce, the settlement was always with the village community, the main reason being that, according to the Hindu Law-givers and the accepted common law of the country, property in land, cultivated or waste, was vested in village communities, and that any State interference would be a subversion of the rights of the village communities. According to Sir Henry Maine, and various other eminent men who have studied

the question of land tenure in India, village communities were a powerful factor in land administration in this country, and it was they, and not the Government, that had the absolute control over the distribution of land whether for cultivation or communal purposes. Such distribution down to the British period of administration was never interfered with by the Government or its representatives, and even in the early days of the British advent, such distribution was never questioned or seriously interfered with. On the other hand every act of land distribution by the village communities was recorded by the Government officials in their books and registers as it was made. There was no attempt to set up a claim on behalf of Government to limit the distribution or veto it in any sense implying the superior right of the Government. The *Dittam* settlement which followed the introduction of Ryotwari tenure was mainly confined to the preparation of village records in each year to show what lands were held under cultivation permanently or temporarily, and what under public waste for communal purposes. The ryots were free to cultivate or use in common for a general purpose what lands they chose, subject of course to the control and guidance of the village community, and the records of the Dittam settlement furnish clear proofs that the Government did not interfere or anyway control the internal village arrangement in the matter of distribution of land. It should be noted here that in the introduction of the Ryotwari system, it was never intended that the State authority or interference in the land administration should supplant that of the village community or that the village community should be destroyed or made to cease as a factor of authority in the country. The father of the Ryotwari system whose memory the people still cherish with feeling of gratitude did much to preserve the village communal system from disintegration. Every one of his writings makes a graceful allusion to the useful character of the institution, and to the advantages resulting from its preservation intact. He did nothing, during his tenure of office as Governor of the Presidency, in any way calculated to weaken the authority of the village community. On the other hand he lost no opportunity to secure to it a better footing both by legislation and executive orders. It seems an irony of fate that the very introduction of the Ryotwari system should have led gradually to results different from those contemplated by the inaugurator of the system, and that the village communities should suffer and languish in prestige and authority by insensible encroachments and invasions. Such however is the effect

to-day of the Ryotwari system, and although the village communities of the present day have been shorn of their power, it is useless to contend that they have ceased to exist altogether. They do exist in every village, only their authority is not accepted with coolness and satisfaction as was done in days of old.

It would be very interesting to follow the different causes that contributed towards weakening the influence and power of the village communities, but space forbids entering into any elaborate discussion on the point. It would be sufficient for our purpose to mention that at first for many years after the introduction of the Ryotwari system the people were unable to perceive the weakening effects of the Ryotwari tenure on the village communal system. The ryots were led to look up, in the adjustments of their individual disputes and differences and in the distribution of land, to the same persons who presided at the deliberation of the village community, and it did not much matter to them what systems were introduced for settlement of land revenue so long as these persons were the guiding authorities in the village. The Tahsildars who were appointed to collect the revenue at first possessed no better status than the farmer of the revenue with whom the Muhammadan rulers contracted for payment of land revenue. These Tahsildars had only to collect revenue, and in order to prevent malversation or misfeasance in the work of collection, had to see to the maintenance of accounts showing individual occupation and cultivation of land—a work which devolved and still devolves on the chief members of the village community, the village accountant and the village head. The village community had the distribution of land entirely in their hands, and it was not until the system of remunerating by money payment the village head and the village kurnam for extra scriptory work thrown on them, as it was supposed, came into operation, that the Tahsildars asserted a superior control over these two functionaries by vanity and officiousness, and in a way began to undermine the influence of these village officers. So that the ryots who used to look to these village officers naturally turned their attention to the Tahsildar whom they supposed to be a superior authority, and who interposed to settle all the petty disputes and differences which had formerly formed the chief function of the village community. The involuntary transference of authority from the village officers to the Tahsildars was gradual and slow and therefore unnoticed. In process of time when the village officers became impotent in the settlement of land disputes, the distribution of land came to be appropriated, by a mere

executive arrangement, by the Tahsildars ; and it was then that the durkhast rules came into operation to guide them in the distribution of land and to prevent them in the plenitude of their power and influence from introducing innovations of their own in any way calculated to excite the suspicion of the villagers and embitter their feelings towards the Government. The assignments of lands were virtually conducted by the village officers as before, and all that the Tahsildars had to do was formally to approve the assignments. In the distribution of land, it will appear that the same principle followed by the village community was preserved in the durkhast rules, no material change was introduced, and a careful perusal of the rules will incline the most sceptically inclined to the belief that it was never intended that the communistic principle should be in any way interfered with. Accordingly, we have that the ryot whose land adjoins has the priority of right to extend cultivation to the surrounding waste lands, and that a ryot of the village has the preference over a stranger. These were the characteristic features of the distribution of land as followed by the village community, and their adoption in the durkhast rules could not and did not raise any distrust or suspicion in the minds of the people that any invasion of communal ryots was contemplated or attempted. After all, the presentation of an application or durkhast was considered purely a formal matter ; there was no obligation to make a written or oral application ; and the mere entry upon a cultivable land by a person who possessed the first or prior right of occupation was treated as a constructive application, the village officer being however required to submit the papers for the formal assignment order of the Tahsildar. No penalty was attached to that entry or occupation, and the Government felt itself bound to recognise the entry and possession and invest the occupier with the necessary title to the occupancy right. So far these rules exactly followed the lines on which the distribution of land was made by the village community. The first attempt, however, at an invasion of their unrestrained right of entry upon cultivable lands was thought of in connection with waste lands. An enquiry followed into the merits of the rights which both the village community and the Government set up in regard to absolute disposal of waste lands, and what the ultimate result of the hot controversy that raged round the question was may be inferred from two quotations. In the well-known work on village communities by Sir Henry Maine, the following occurs :—

" In the later days of the East India Company when all its acts

and omissions were very bitterly criticised and amid the general re-opening of Indian questions after the military insurrection of 1857 much stress was laid on the great amount ot waste land which official returns showed to exist in India, and it was more than hinted that better Government would bring these wastes under cultivation, possibly under cotton cultivation, and even plant them with English colonists. *The answer of experienced Indian functionaries was there was no waste land at all in India.* (The italics are mine.) If you except certain territories which stand to India Proper such as the tracts of land at the base of rocky mountains stand to the United States—as for example, the Indo-Chinese-Province of Assam—the reply is substantially correct. The so-called waste lands are part of the domain of the various communities which the villagers theoretically are only waiting opportunity to bring under cultivation."

Independently of public men who after a very critical and impartial study of the question expressed the opinion that the waste lands are not unreservedly at the disposal of Government, the Government of Madras started in 1856 an enquiry of their own and came to the same conclusion as Sir Henry Maine. The full text of the resolution of the Government is not to hand, but there is one passage quoted from it by the late Dewan Bahadur S. Srinivasa Raghaviengar in his forty years' memorandum. This makes it sufficiently clear that the Government, with its strong tendency to create revenue, found it difficult to make a trade of waste lands in the flagrant way that it has now chosen to do. This passage was relied on by the Hon'ble Mr. L. A. Govindaraghavaiyer when he opposed the claim put forward by the Government to State landlordship, and may well be quoted here. The order says :—" The waste lands in this country, in the village plains at least, is certainly not the property of Government, or the State in the absolute sense in which the unoccupied land in the United States and some of the British Colonies is so. The village communities claim an interest, and that interest has been universally admitted though not accurately defined. To put up the wastes to sale, entirely ignoring that prior right of the village communities would be to introduce a totally new practice; and it would certainly be regarded by the common feeling of the country as an invasion of existing rights," Certainly, as stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Govindaraghavier, the fifty years that have since rolled by have produced no radical change except perhaps in the views of certain officials in high positions that there is no such thing as " common feeling " in the country or that public

dissatisfaction exists only in newspapers or on political platforms—a sentiment which the Hon'ble Mr. Castlestuart Stuart will readily subscribe to, if no one else will. After the deliberate admission of the Government of 1856 in regard to the existence of communal rights in waste lands, and of the unfairness or injustice of putting waste lands to auction—a system entirely foreign to the notions of Indian agriculturists, and to the principles of land-holding—one would expect that the question had been authoritatively and finally settled ; but later events will show that attempts were made off and on, and expedients found, to revive and establish a system of selling waste lands. The first attempt in this direction was in the disposal of waste lands on the Nilgiri Hills in the forest tracts where demand for lands by the people could not be said to exist, and where European settlers wanted to establish coffee and other kinds of superior cultivation. It will be noticed that, in the order of 1856, a loop-hole was ready at hand, so as not to militate much against the conscientious scruples of the Government, and taking advantage of the saving clause that the waste lands on the Hills were not on the same footing as waste lands in the plains, the Government found no difficulty in the absolute sale of lands on the Hills. Then about 1875, another inducement offered itself to extend the system of sale to abandoned tank-bed lands. Here again a plausible justification was found, and the Government evidently thought that in as much it had spent money in the maintenance of the tanks till they were abandoned, it had a right to recoup the outlay by sale of the bed. Another stretch of the system was made towards cases where the occupancy right could not be decided between the several contending applicants by the ordinary durkhast rule. It should be said here that the village officers were not influenced by the same lofty ideals as they were when directly under the village community without the encouragement or support of the Tahsildars, and from motives of self-interest and by chicanery, created records which threw doubt as to which of the applicants had the prior right, and the Government then hit upon the happy idea of selling the right of occupancy. In 1895 the justification that availed in the case of tank-bed lands was held good in the case of all waste lands commanded by large irrigation projects, and the Government accordingly decided that all such lands shall be put up to sale.

The crowning act in the distribution of land which the Government took on itself in defiance of communal rights was the introduction in 1899 of a general proviso in the durkhast rules that " nothing

contained in the rules shall be held to debar Government from disposing of assessed waste lands otherwise than under these rules at its discretion as heretofore." These were the petty administrative rules introduced from time to time, harmless by themselves, but very aggressive and subversive of private rights in their cumulative effects. It will thus been seen that the simple durkhast rules of 1861, which were conceived quite in accordance with the communistic principle of distribution of land, had undergone modifications so as to entirely overthrow that principle. The modifications were artfully introduced ; they were introduced in cases where large opposition was not likely to be experienced, and therefore the sale of Peryar lands stands prominently before public notice as the first aggressive measure in defiance of the communal rights of the people which the Government of 1886 admitted to exist in waste lands. Here again, as if the outright sale was considered not sufficient, a condition was introduced requiring the buyer to surrender such lands as might be required for public roads and channels.

The effect of this condition would be to undermine the occupancy right which became absolute with the entry upon the land, and by its gradual application to all kinds of waste lands, to subordinate the interests of the occupier to those of an overlord. The sale and condition introduced in Peryar are inconsistent with the accepted notions of right and property in land, and according to the common law of the country there could be no sale, absolute or conditional. The Hon. Mr. Hammick carefully avoided to mention how it was that the views of the Government changed from what they were in 1856, and under what circumstances the right admitted to exist in 1856 came to be denied in 1905. He could not justify the procedure on any other ground than that of a vague general expediency, and it is open to him to say whether the several modifications introduced in the durkhast rules were not insidious attempts to subvert vested rights. These modifications, however, could not confer a legal right in the absolute distribution of land as Government wanted to have, and after the decision of the High Court which led to the framing of the Encroachment Act, the Government grew apprehensive that, at any time, the right to put up to auction all waste lands would be called in question in the Courts of Law, and the only effective way in which such a danger might be averted, was to assert by statutory declaration a claim to State soil-ownership. This is what the Government has done.

The facts described above will explain in a manner how the

people did not feel seriously called upon to controvert any of the rights which the Hon. Mr. Hammick claimed for Government, and the mere fact that it was not controverted could not confer a right such as that the Government has claimed. It was thirty years after the system of levying penal assessment for encroachments had been in force that one Ramayya was found to contest the right of the Government to levy penalties and establish his contention successfully in the High Court. Similarly the sale of waste lands or the levy of fish-rent or penal water-rate would be called into question, and it seems most ludicrous that the claims of Government should be based on the absence of any such dispute as to the right of Government. Instead of courting a public enquiry on so contentious a claim, the Government has effectually stopped all means of getting a judicial pronouncement on this question, and it is impossible for any one who has closely followed the arguments advanced on the side of Government to get rid of the notions that there was a vien of thought in the speeches of the Hon. Messrs. Stokes and Hammick that the Government has come in for unquestionable landed rights by mere conquest of the country —a feeling which the Muhammadan rulers were not able to get rid of in their dealings with the people.

In spite of what the Government has been urging in excuse of its pretensions, it still remains a question whether the several acts of the executive administration in introducing modifications in the durkhast rules could confer an unquestionable right in all lands. We deny this right ; no amount of weakening influence, which the Government consciously or unconsciously brought to bear upon the village community, could be held to justify a total denial of their existence, and no amount of orders and instructions which the Government has been issuing to its officers and embodying in the durkhast rules could justify so preposterous a claim in the matter of distribution of land. The Government has still to show that it can depart from the established customs in the distribution of land—in putting waste lands to sale. If this right to sell is denied, the necessity for the broad declaration of State ownership disappears. The Government wants to make a profit by sale, and the zemindars, the proteges of the Government, want heavy *nuzzers* for grant of lands ; so the sting of the land measures which the Government has introduced lies in the unwarranted assumption of a power which the common law of the country does not sanction in the matter of distribution of land.

REVENUE OFFICER.

COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

AT a recent meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce a resolution was passed to the effect that a practical examination as well as one in special subjects suitable for clerks entering mercantile offices should be instituted. As the result of a series of letters which had passed between the Bengal Government and the Chambers of Commerce in that Presidency, it was proposed that local examinations should be instituted in preference to the London Chamber of Commerce Examinations. There is no doubt that this action on the part of the Bengal Government is bound to meet with general approval, and it is to be hoped that the successful candidates would be freely employed in future in mercantile offices. It is evident from the letters published by the Bengal Government that the Chambers of Commerce in India have for some time past been pressing the authorities to pay their attention to the question of Commercial Education. This must have been due to the difficulty felt by the mercantile offices to secure the services of intelligent and capable natives. Most of those who seek employment in these offices are unfit to discharge onerous and responsible duties; and we trust that, as a result of the institution of these examinations, a better class of men would in future be available for employment in the mercantile houses.

I shall proceed to explain the signification of the term Commercial Education and what it should do. In the treatment of the subject I have the advantage of having combined my study with experience for the past 11 years. By Commercial Education I mean that which trains a youth to appreciate fully the "objects, and advantages" of a commercial calling. Such an education should enable him to wage war successfully with his competitors and to keep pace with the development of the outer world. It must, therefore, be worked on a solid basis, to make the superstructure remain permanent. It has been said that the question of systematic and steady development of Commercial Education and a properly organised Commercial Schooll resolves itself into a question of culture; but culture in the real sense of the word cannot be imparted in schools. It must find its source in self-improvement, which springs from strong motives to exertion. So be it. But the school should endeavour to train the minds of

the youths who come under its influence in a way to give them a strong desire for self-culture and self-improvement. This is the true aim and object of Education.

That the material welfare of a country depends in a large measure on the attention paid to the development of its commerce is evident from the course adopted by different nations to impart a system of sound Commercial Education. Mr. Chamberlain, in the course of a speech to the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce, expressed that commerce is the greatest of all political interests and that that Government deserves most the popular approval which does the most to increase trade and settle it on a firm foundation. Lord Rosebery stated that the twentieth century is destined to witness a struggle for commercial predominance among the trading nations of the world. Our Viceroy, Lord Curzon, showed emphatically, while he distributed the prizes at an annual meeting of the London Chamber of Commerce, that the prosperity of a country by trade and commerce would depend on the attention paid to Commercial and Technical Education.

It should be said that the great mass of the people must, in future, continue to grapple with the hard facts of life and do the rough work set before them, and have to solve the problem of ever-increasing poverty. A sense of increasing responsibility must, therefore, call to the minds of the people the urgent necessity for modelling their education in a manner to bring prosperity to their country by improving trade and commerce. That this is the general view is evident from the attention given by different nations to the development of Commercial Education. It is realised that commercial success in the future will depend more on educational superiority. We consequently find to-day more schools and colleges of commerce than when education in business was achieved by mere rule-of-thumb. The days have gone by when doctors learnt their business by mere apprenticeship, and the days would soon go by when men in business and industry were expected to learn their business best, merely by undergoing office routine. Business methods have changed in the past thirty years, manufacturing has been revolutionised by new inventions, improved machinery, and new and enlarged demands. The steam engine of Watt, the steamship of Symington and the locomotive of Stephenson have given fresh opportunities for the training of a new class of workmen, more intelligent than the old. It is, consequently, required of the Technical Schools to supply for these purposes young Foremen and

Superintendents. Along with the wonderful revolution in the methods of production, there have been wonderful developments in the methods of distribution. With the introduction of machinery in textile industry the output of manufacture has increased by leaps and bounds. It is incumbent on the business world to find adequate means for their distribution. The old method of rule-of-thumb training is no longer adequate to maintain the commercial pre-eminence. It is necessary to train the faculties, to analyse new commercial and economic situations, and to impart organised knowledge. England became alive to this fact only quite recently, and now Primary, Secondary and Technical Education is placed under the control of the Board of Education consisting of members of the Government, with a president who may sit in the House of Commons, and a consultative committee formed partly of representatives of the views of the Universities and other educational bodies. This new Board of Education, reconstituted by the London University in 1898, have established a Faculty of Economics and Political Science (including commerce and industry) and affiliated the London School of Economics and Political Science to that University. I may say that although the absolute necessity for the establishment of a University of Commerce for the efficient training of young men intended for commercial and industrial pursuits in England was emphasised so long ago as 1887 by Mr. Howard Vincent, M.P., and Lord Dean of Guild Blackie, it was only when the University of London was re-organised, that an academic degree in Economics and Commerce was instituted. It should, however, be noticed that in this re-organisation, no definite Commercial Faculty with full teaching and examining powers was provided for.

The Commercial Education scheme started some 18 years ago, as the result of a series of letters contributed to the "Times" by Mr. Arnold Foster, aims at imparting the rudiments of Commercial Science to those who are to fill the ranks of British Commerce. The original scheme prepared by the Commercial Education Committee in 1888 for a six years' Commercial course, if carried out, would have placed London on a par with the best Commercial educated cities of Germany, Paris or Antwerp. The "scheme of Studies" now instituted by the London Chamber of Commerce is such as to suit all grades of men and candidates, who merely want a certificate; they may get through the obligatory subjects, and select two of the easiest optionals. On the other hand,

a student who wishes to have a sound education in Commercial Science may do the obligatory subjects satisfactorily, taking two of the most important optionals, such as, say, Banking, Currency, Commercial and Industrial Law, Chemistry, Physics or Metallurgy —whoever does so will be a well educated man of business. The Commercial training of the London Chamber of Commerce is adequate to create a Commercial Faculty, which if instituted, would be a proper Faculty in the Science of Commerce rather than the one now founded at the London School of Economics and Political Science.

The other Universities of Commerce, (besides the London School of Economics and Political Science) are those of Birmingham, Manchester and some other important cities in Scotland.

It will be interesting in this connection to observe the standard of Commercial Education in vogue on the continent and other countries which constitute an intellectual training fit to rank with that of any classical, legal or scientific studies in England.

The Institut de Commerce at Antwerp, Ecole Superieure de Commerce de Paris, Oeffent Eiche Handelslehranstalt zu Leipzig are the best Colleges of Commerce on the Continent. Besides the Leipzig Commercial Institute, there are about 60 other institutions in Germany of 50 years standing and having an average total enrolment of 6000 pupils a year. France has seven schools of the first order and many of lower grades. In the superior schools of commerce, and in the school of Higher Commercial studies in Paris, there is a staff of about 70 members. In Antwerp, Brussels and Switzerland there are important Commercial Colleges. There are interesting Commercial Schools in Russia. Russia has, what may perhaps be called, the oldest Commercial School in the world. The Universities of New York, California, Chicago and Pennsylvania have instituted Faculties of Commerce and Industry. In the above institutions students are taught the Laws of Commerce, Mathematics, Industrial and Commercial Geography, Economics, Credits, Corporations, Accounting, Foreign Languages, and many other subjects. Real-Handlungs-Akademic in Vienna is intended to train not merely efficient merchants, but also high class officials for the economic and financial departments of the Government. Graduates turned out from these institutions find themselves so fully equipped for practical business affairs that, soon after their leaving the University, they enter the foreign market, either as buyers or sellers, with

an enormous advantage over the man whose education has been acquired under less systematic methods.

The Japanese have entertained more than any other nation the view that the political and, to some extent, even the moral well-being of their country depends in a large measure on its material welfare. With the advent of the European civilization in the East, the influence of Buddhism and Confucianism underwent astonishing changes. The Japanese no longer remained content with a social system based on a hierarchy of inherited ranks and crafts, but were converted to the doctrine of extreme commercialism. Large numbers of their leaders came to the conclusion that the social principles which they had learned from their fathers were really a barrier to the working of the law of natural selection; and under the influence of all that came to them from the West, they became fully alive to the conviction that the most important element in a nation's strength is material and commercial welfare, without which they could no longer be a nation fit to take a predominant place in the world's history.

Commercial Education was considered by the first Cabinet of the present Emperor to be very essential for promoting the foreign trade of Japan. Advisers of Government, professors of all branches of learning and artisans of all kinds have been called in from Europe and America. Government officials and students have been incessantly sent abroad for study. Although the origin of private commercial schools dates back to the year 1875, yet it was not till after ten years that the central Government of Tokio instituted a Commercial School of the highest standard. Since then, many other schools throughout Japan have been started by different Municipalities.

The system adopted at the Higher Commercial College of Tokio is that of the Instut Superieur de Commerce de Anvers at Antwerp. But, after a few years, the standard of the college was raised far above that of the Antwerp Institute. The Higher Commercial College at Tokio stands now as one of the first commercial colleges in the world, the status and education of the graduates of which are at least equal, if not superior, to those of any of the continental commercial colleges. Graduates, who possess sound scholarship, are sent at Government expense for research study to Antwerp, Paris, Germany, Belgium, England and the United States; and on their return they are appointed as professors and in any kind of administrative work including the service of Government, railways, banks and insurance companies.

From the above brief survey of the different countries, we observe that the cry in every quarter is "Education for Business and Public Life," and that this education can be best attained in Business Colleges. The object of a commercial college should, therefore, be to afford a systematic training in higher commercial subjects, in the study of Government and administration and in the work of economic and social investigation. The reason for neglecting this important branch of study was the general low social estimate set on business classes. Commerce was considered to be a profession for men occupying low position in the social scale. This idea no longer exists, and we have reason to believe that people are beginning to wake up to the necessity of a sound Commercial Education.

What is it, then, that should receive the particular attention of the business world and the community in general in the organisation and development of Commercial Education? It is said that the commercial success of any nation depends on their educational superiority. The best preparation is to afford a good general education; in fact, the aim of all educational systems should be to offer general or liberal courses of all standards, and of the very best character, and get as many young men to pursue them as possible. It should then go further, and allow those youths, who have gone as far as possible in the liberal courses, an opportunity to pursue their education still further along lines relating to their future calling. For instance, an education which is based on Science and is properly organised cannot but be liberalising, no matter if it be technical in the proper sense of the term. In the same manner the curriculum of a Commercial High School may be sufficiently liberalising in all its aspects, at the same time that it trains a youth so as to make him more useful in a business house. The work of a good industrial school or trade high school may be made thoroughly educational. It is work of this kind, which is liberal and practical, that educates a man while it trains him for a livelihood and which should be introduced into our system of Commercial Education.

There is at present little opportunity for a youth desiring to enter business to obtain any systematic assistance in preparing himself for his future career, if he desires or expects to engage in anything but clerical work.

I am afraid I may be taken for a pessimist, but the fact is that the young men who receive their education are hardly found efficient in an office for the discharge of independent and onerous duties.

I cannot, however, affirm that no commercial school or no college of finance and economy will make a successful merchant or banker. Nor does a law college make a successful lawyer or a medical college a successful physician, but all three may so train a youth that he will enter upon his respective career with an advantage over the man who does not receive this training.

In order to make Commercial Education a success, the curriculum of the school should be made as liberalising in character as possible. A commercial school which imparts instruction in the higher commercial subjects, *viz.*, the history of commerce and commercial institutions, commercial geography with the necessary preliminary work in physical geography, the study of products, the theory and practice of accountancy, should be of general interest to every educated man—whether he is going to business or not; while the study of commercial law, economic theory and history, political science, banking and currency supply liberal courses of education specially adapted to the needs of persons who are or who intend to be engaged in any kind of administration. Such a study constitutes what is termed the "Science of Commerce." By science of commerce I mean a systematic study of principles and usages of all branches of trade, buying and selling of different commodities, mercantile agencies, shipping, railways, insurance, warehouse, banking and speculation. Such a training would constitute a proper Faculty in the Science of Commerce. Commercial Education will then satisfy commercial requirements which can be ascertained only from a knowledge of the function of the mercantile classes.

In order to make the education imparted in a commercial school thorough and efficient, students, before leaving school, must be made to undergo a course of training in what is termed the "Practice of Commerce". The object of this subject is to teach the students how to apply to practical business what they have already learnt under various other subjects. I do not intend to offer any remarks as to how this course should be pursued, but this I would say, that the education imparted in a commercial school should be considered incomplete if the students trained there possess no knowledge of the definite functions they have to perform when they are thrown in the great battle-plain of commercial life. The various forms of ordinary trading, such as local sales, imports and exports on own account and on commission, consignments, indents, agencies, &c., must be introduced by fictitious operations, the leading data of which

must be based, if possible, upon the transactions of large firms. Special attention must be paid to standing in account calculations, forward exchange contracts, commercial correspondence, cable codes, &c.

I have described the aims and scope of a Higher Commercial College. The curriculum of a properly organised Commercial School should be such as to create a Faculty of Commerce. I would ask whether the time has not arrived in India to wake up to the necessity of educating our young men after the model of English and Continental methods and to create a Faculty of Commerce in the Universities of India. The desire to secure a University degree is so great on the part of our young men, that when a Faculty of Commerce is created, a portion of our young men who are now preparing for the various degrees will take up this important branch of study and thus, in course of time, a number of Bachelors of Commercial Science would be turned out, who, unable to secure the much coveted Government appointment, would have to resort to commercial undertakings. The outlook clearly points to individual efforts as the only future means of success in life for the majority; and that effort must be directed towards commercial and industrial undertakings. India will find a vast field in this rather than in the highly estimated but limited fields of Government service.

What has been done in India so far in the direction of Commercial Education cannot be said to be of any success, but, as the minds of the leading men have been awakened to the necessity for a diversion from the purely literary course to the commercial and industrial, we hope that the time is not far distant when proper steps will be taken in order to make Commercial Education a success. At present students who join a commercial school are utterly deficient in general education, and consequently, they neglect the study of important subjects, such as Banking, Economics, Commercial History and Geography, the study of which should be assiduously pursued by those whose ambition is to become merchants or traders.

Our Presidency has the reputation of being the pioneer in establishing commercial schools, but I regret to remark that these have not been developed as they ought to be. This paper has, therefore, been prepared with a view to exhibit the method of work that should be followed in a commercial high school or college, and the instruction to be imparted must be such as to rank with that of any classical, legal or scientific studies.

C. GOPAL MENON.

HAIDAR AND THE ASTROLOGER.

MANY are the stories that are told of Haidar in Mysore and the adjoining British districts, which at one time formed integral parts of the kingdom he usurped. Indeed, a biography of him may be composed in the words of some of these stories. There are stories about his birth; his bringing up; his apprenticeship; his ascendancy in the then Maharajah's Counsels; his conquests and finally his death. The following, which is still current in and around Seringapatam, was told me with all the circumstantiality of a true tale by an old rustic when on a tour in that Province some years ago.

The sun had just set and the short eastern twilight was fleeting fast. A moment the dusk had turned to utter darkness, and the blazing light in the public offices opposite became more clearly visible, though obscured now and again by an ever-moving crowd round it. Beside the Indian lamp was the gaunt figure of an old lanky man with wrinkled cheeks and sunken eyes peering into men's hands, legs and tongues in quick succession and dismissing them with equal alacrity. The flickering light would be mended frequently by the eager by-standers, and the lamp was fed by a generous supply of 'public' oil by the *masálchi.* The whole government establishment from the Dewan to the *duffadar* was busy. Everyone was eager in pushing forth his hand over the heads and backs of his neighbours to get at the astrologer for a peep into his future. To the observant Haidar on the opposite terrace all was plain in a second and the thought apparently flashed on him 'why not he try his luck?' Straightway he ran down the stairs, put on a *kumbli* (camblet) on his shoulders and with a long rustic stick in his right-hand set out to the spot which had so long attracted him. Unobserved by any and unsuspected by all, from behind everyone he stretched forth his open palm to the astrologer. "Keep back," quoth the indignant fortune-teller after a moment's examination, "keep back, thou wretch! This is the hand," continued he lifting up his head to the crowd "of a corpse-bearer." Unperturbed, Haidar quickly withdrew his hand and unseen he slipped off to his abode. That was a memorable night. The future fortunes and miseries of many had been foretold in a few curt words, which were not altogether devoid of

ambiguity. And the astrologer had been promised an early introduction to the Big Sultan.

The morrow dawned, not too soon to the anxions astrologer. The courtiers and officers had early repaired to the audience hall of their master and there eagerly awaited his arrival. Haidar entered at the usual hour but with a contorted face, declared in low, faltering tones that he had fever on him since last evening and that he was suffering from pain all over the body and did not quite feel sure of his fate. An opportunity had unexpectedly offered itself and the prime public functionary promptly stood up and observed, "O, Khodadad! Inscrutable are the ways of the all merciful Providence. Thou art not sure of thy fate and there is the new-come seer that tells men's fortunes with wonderful celerity. All the people have fled to him and have returned with gleeful hearts. Everywhere is he seen but nowhere is he found—such is the demand for him. If he be summoned we cannot be long in suspense. May it please my Khodadad." Haidar's object was gained and he nodded assent. The feigned fever had left him and he was impatient to test the honesty of this reputed reader of the Book of Fates. The arrival of this worthy was ere long announced and in due time he began his business, amidst solemn silence, by extending his hand for the adventurer's palm. Haidar stretched it forth and waited. "Ah!" exclaimed the astonished old man, "this is a seen hand,—the hand of a corpse-bearer." "Thou art only saved from the gallows to be thrown into the prison," quickly followed up the usurper, "thy tricks and thy rogueries shall end this day." The astrologer gasped for breath, gaped and stared and was motionless; the audience was taken aback, and nothing relieved for a while the painful stillness of the scene but the loud thundering accents of Haidar who cried out, "speak crafty villain and be saved. Explain thyself and beware you speak the truth." Hardly had Haidar resumed his seat than the whilom terrified astrologer stood forth on his defence and said: "what can come from the sea but the moon; what can come from the mountain but the life-giving herb; what can come from beneath Mother Earth but the all nourishing seed, and what can come from my ever victorious Khodadad but the ancient Wisdom of his fathers. Truly, the wise shall be rewarded and the wicked shall be punished. Allow thy humble servant some bee's wax and he shall soon demonstrate to a finality the truth of the science of his revered forefathers." He pasted the wax in circular patches all over the body of Haidar

and took them out one by one and carefully examined them. Those that had been pasted to the walls of the mouth showed clear imprints of the *chank* and *chakar*, the Vishnavite regal emblems. "Here are those," frantically cried out the recovered astrologer, "that made my Khodadad what he is, the Ruler of fair Mysore." The old man was richly rewarded with shawls and money and dismissed with honour.

It will be observed in the above story that Haidar, though as a Mahomedan was a believer in astrology, felt at first sceptical about the truth of the astrologer's science. The very wide divergence between his actual position and the declaration that his hand was that of a corpse-bearer seems to have had the natural effect of shaking the very foundations of his belief in the psuedo-Science. It seemed as though that on the second reading of his hand, Haidar was going to follow the Chinese custom of meting out capital sentence to false astrologers. Fortunately the wily old man was resourceful enough to avert it by smartly reading the royal emblems in his mouth! and thus went off with presents instead of to the gallows.

The scepticism of Haidar finds its parallel in the present day Hindu feeling towards the art that foretells the future. With Sir Thomas Browne of old, modern Hindus deny the capacity of the astrologers of their day, but do not venture to dispute the reality of the science. This is the case with the majority, not excluding the educated classes, who in times of great troubles or adverse fortunes generally consult an astrologer as to the time when better days will dawn on them. The acute Pascal once remarked of astrologers that they foretell "misfortunes, because misfortunes are common, so that, as some ill-chance often happens, they are often right. This is how their predictions rarely fail." It is not surprising, therefore, that some champions of our *ill-starred* Southern prophet have urged the fulfilment of his prophecies in the happening of the West Indian eruptions! At this rate anything can come true.

It is not a little curious this attitude of the educated Indian towards one of the 'six sciences' that regulates his every-day life. Perhaps, it may not be altogether out of place here to draw attention to Dean Swift's famous squib, entitled *Prediction for the year 1708, by Issac Bickerstaff, Esq*, which, in the opinion of Prof. Jules Andriew, gave the death blow in England to astrology. Swift after expressing his profound belief in the science and pointing out the absurdities of the philomaths, proceeds to show in the happiest vein

of parody a more excellent way :—" My first prediction is but a trifle, yet I mention it to show how ignorant these sottish pretenders to astrology are in their own concerns : it refers to Partridge, the Almanac-maker. I have consulted the star of his nativity by my own rules, and find he will infalliably die upon the 29th of March next about eleven at night of a raging fever. Therefore I advise him to consider of it and settle his affairs in time." He followed this up with a letter to a respectable person giving a minute account of the astrologer's death on the very day and about the same hour mentioned. Poor Partridge protested in vain that he was alive. In his desperation he even got a literary friend to write a pamphlet to prove it and published his Almanac for 1709. Swift was not to be baffled. In his rejoinder he abused the wretched astrologer for his want of manners in giving a gentleman the lie, answered his arguments *seriatim*, and finally concluded that the evidence of the publication of another Almanac was wholly irrelevant ; " for Gadbury, Poor Robin, Dove and Way do yearly publish their Almanacs, though several of them have been dead since before the Revolution."

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.

EDWARD CARPENTER—HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS.

OF the many poets, scientists and philosophers, who have made the latter half of the nineteenth century illustrious, I wish to speak particularly in the following pages of Edward Carpenter, who, holds a unique place in English letters. He disregarded the allurements of fame, the ease and luxury of wealth, and endured the slanders and misrepresentations of his opponents in order to fight the cause of the righteous and the just. In speaking of him, I am inclined to say that ours is an age of scepticism. Where we should have faith we doubt; where we should question and investigate, we blindly accept. Although this may appear paradoxical, yet it is none the less a fact that scepticism and credulity go hand in hand. We, instead of appreciating the generous intentions of others, attribute to them motives of the most sordid nature. Nay, we go a step further; being imbued with this spirit we not only remain inactive, but discourage action in others. It is men of this stamp who are responsible for the many evils that exist in the present day. If men are unfit to appreciate virtue, and to value truth and justice, life and society would be impossible and humanity would degenerate and perish.

Notwithstanding this lack of faith we are fortunate in possessing many great and generous men and women—real reformers—philanthropists in the real sense of the word. One may write offhand the names of hundred such—Tolstoy, Kropotkin, Stepniak, William Morris, John Ruskin, Walt Whitman and Percy B. Shelly and a host of others. Of the workers and thinkers of the modern times there is no man in England who stands nearer to Walt Whitman the virile American, and to Tolstoy the 'great moujik,' than Edward Carpenter, and not one of the living writers of England has made such a lasting impression on the men and women of his generation as the author of "Towards Democracy." P. B. Shelly and Walt Whitman are two of the greatest writers of the modern times. Both these have influenced and have much in common with Edward Carpenter. Like Shelly, Edward Carpenter is a sweet and gentle soul; is quite sound on all the questions on which he wrote either in prose or in poetry. Whitman, though vastly different in many respects from Shelly, is just as important a factor in progress.

It will give my readers some idea how important Whitman's writings are when I say that Carpenter studied his "Leaves of Grass" continuously for ten years. Carpenter is a true poet of comradeship and a deep thinker. His writings embraced all questions concerning democratic problems.

In speaking of Edward Carpenter, I may lay myself open to the charge of hero-worship, but it is better to admire too much and love too well such a man than not to know anything of him. In my attempt to put before you the claims of a teacher not widely accepted, I may incur many risks. I may either overstate his claims, or fail to do full justice to his main qualifications.

Edward Carpenter's writings have an important and immediate bearing on human life. His utterances have made men to face the difficult problems of life. He teaches us both by his writings and by his own example how to live; life to him has a deeper, grander meaning than it has for most. His writings contain several problems concerning human ailments and their cures. His qualifications as a teacher are unique, possessing as he does an extremely keen and well trained mind. He is equipped with a thorough knowledge of the Eastern and Western philosophy, and is thoroughly familiar with the prevailing condition among both rich and poor, and in full sympathy with their aspirations as to their elevation in society. His reflections containing every progressive tendency are composed in a style equalled by few modern writers and excelled by none.

Edward Carpenter was born at Brighton in 1844 and educated at Cambridge. He was made a fellow of his college in 1868; took orders a year later, and was for a time a curate under Frederick Denison Maurice. Till 1874 he worked at Cambridge, but finding that the atmosphere was becoming unbearable on account of shams and conventionalities, he threw up his fellowship, relinquished orders, and became a University Extension Lecturer. In this capacity he worked for nearly seven years, and the lectures, delivered during this period on Science, Philosophy, Music, &c., are looked upon as masterpieces. These were afterwards embodied in his great work "Towards Democracy," which was issued to the world in 1882. Although it was a difficult task to write a book of this kind, yet it was performed with such facility that it attracted the admiration of all the civilised world. This was followed by "England's Ideal" published in 1887. It contains a series of papers on "Simplification of Life," "Desirable Mansions," "Interest," &c. Another was published in 1889, "Civili-

sation: its cause and cure." Besides the paper which gives to the book its title, this volume contains essays on "Modern Science," "Science of the Future," "Custom," and a criticism of the Darwinian theory of evolution. In 1890, a book called "From Adam's Peak to Elephanta: Sketches in Ceylon and India" was published. This contains a history of Carpenter's travels in these two countries, with special chapters on the Philosophy of the East, "Traditions of the Ancient Wisdom Religion," "Castes and Communism," "The New Influences," &c. In this book, Carpenter has not only given the impressions of a tourist, but the reflections of a man seriously interested in the natives, and the grave problems that Englishmen, as rulers of India, have to solve sooner or later. He says he has been fortunate in being introduced into circles of traditional teaching which are often closed against the English, and in getting to know something of the esoteric religious lore of South India and also in obtaining some interesting glimpses behind the scenes of the Hindu ceremonial. "I have too had the good luck," he says, "to find friends and familiar acquaintances among all classes of native society, down almost to the lowest." In the concluding chapter he has dealt with the astounding changes that have been brought about in the land under the spread of Western influences, in their two great main forms, science and commercialism. "The effect of this rush of Western ideas and education is," he says, "what one might expect, to discredit the old religion and the old caste-practices. It has practically abandoned the religion of its fathers; largely scoffs at it. Does it accept Christianity in any form in its place? No! Christianity in its Missions and its Salvation Armies does not to any extent touch the advanced and educated sections. The latter read Mill, Spencer and Huxley, and they have quite naturally and in good faith adopted the philosophy of their teachers—the scientific materialism which had its vogue in England some 20 years ago, but which is perhaps now somewhat on the wane." He further goes on to say that "with the extraordinary quickness and receptivity which is one of the great features of the Hindu mind, though beginning the study so much later in the day, they have absorbed the teachings of modern science and leapt to its conclusions almost as soon as we have in the West." He expresses doubt as to the progress of this movement, and he thinks that "there may be a reaction back to the old standpoint, or what is more hopeful, a forward effort to rehabilitate the profound teaching of their forefathers into methods more suited to the times in which we live, and freed from the many

absurdities which have gathered round the old tradition."

The second great factor in Modern India is the growth of Commercialism. This is remarkably visible and is likely to grow. One important change which this grand tourist observed in India, as the result of Western influence, is the gradual change which is taking place from the communistic to the highly individualistic. In all departments, whether in the family or the township, or the caste, the idea of joint possession is dying out in favor of separate and distinct holding for purely individual ends. This conception has brought about revolutionary changes in the structure of society in the history of various races and peoples ; and India, he says, cannot be an exception to the rule. This change is rapidly taking place in the great cities, where Western influence is directly felt, but in the agricultural regions the progress is very slow. If the ancient village communities are to break up and the bonds of rural society are to cease, one may witness, as Sir Henry Maine suggests, the recurrence of "that "terrible problem of pauperism which began to press on English "Statesman as soon as the old English cultivating groups began "distinctly to fall to pieces." "In India, however," he says, "the solution will be far more difficult than it has proved here."

In speaking of the Indian National Congress which, Edward Carpenter says, is nothing but the outcome of the political and social ideas which belong to the same stage of historical development, we are brought face to face with an important social movement in India. What the upshot of it none can say, but its work is not at all to be ignored. It is comparable in its way with the meetings of the Labor Congresses in the capitals of Europe. "Adams Peak to Elephanta," is one of the most fascinating books on India ever written by mortal man. I crave the reader's pardon for dwelling so long on this work.

Two years later, two essays were published, "Angel's Wings" and "Love's coming of Age"; the former contains essays on art, music and their bearing on life ; the latter represents Carpenter's views on the relation of the sexes. In all the literature of the world, there is nothing purer or sweeter than Edward Carpenter's treatment of this important question.

Another volume on "the Art of Creation" was published by Edward Carpenter at the beginning of this year. It contains essays on the Self and its Powers.

To go into the details of the teachings of one of the greatest, and certainly one of the most interesting men of our time is beyond

the limit of a single paper. Here, I can only state as briefly as possible the central facts of Edward Carpenter's message to the Individual as well as to the Society. There pervades throughout his writings a sentiment to stimulate a desire for an intensive individual life and to suggest the means whereby all that is implied in the phrase "subjective liberty" may be secured. Admitting that subjective is far more important than objective liberty, it is obvious that outward liberty is equally essential to the well-being and the happiness of Society as inward liberty is to the well-being of the individual. In fact liberty to think and to act cannot be freed from the interacting forces of heredity and environment. Having found the means to secure subjective liberty, the problem that remains for solution is how to secure to each the greatest amount of liberty in action compatible with the liberty of all.

It is beyond doubt that he has dealt with problems more vital in their bearing to human life than many of his popular contemporaries. In talking of the all important subject of life one is naturally inclined to question, "Why we are here." Religion or science can give us no answer to this ; all that Philosophy, religion or Science can do for us is to throw a light on how we came, and being here, how to utilise the little time that is ours. Edward Carpenter has thrashed out this question so fully that his writings deserve to be widely known and appreciated.

Edward Carpenter possesses the unique feature of the scientist's faculty of accurate observation, the wisdom of the philosopher, and the power of expression of the poet. Such combinations are rarely found in one man. Who has united so well as he the philosophies of the East and West, who has written so ably on subjects that affect human life, who has described more truly and effectively the disease in the body politic ; and who is there that has so ably championed the cause of the poor and the distressed ! It is because he has done these and has fearlessly gone into the root of many of the evils in fighting the cause of the right and just, that he will be remembered as a comrade of the humblest and the poorest. I cannot better express his sentiments than by quoting from Walt Whitman's "Leaves of Grass" to give an idea of his motto,

> Camerado, I give you my hand !
> I give you my love more precious than money ;
> I give you myself before preaching or law,
> Will you give me yourself ? Will you come travel with me ?
> Shall we stick by each other as long as we live ?

G.

INDIAN ECONOMICS.

II. THE INDIAN AGRICULTURAL PROBLEMS.

IT is a well-known fact that more than 75 per cent. of the Indian population depend for their subsistence upon the cultivation of the soil. Unlike in Europe where industrial life forms the main source of sustenance to the majority of the people, agriculture is a resort almost all-in-all to the vast peoples of India.

The importance of agriculture in India.

Agriculture is an industry which depends mostly upon the caprices of the season; and it is natural therefore that in years of absence of rain there arises a scarcity of food which invariably leads to famine in this country. But over and above this dependence upon nature, which is the most conspicuous characteristic of the agricultural occupation, there are some other things that make the Indian peasant more wretched and miserable than he would otherwise be. These are his great liability to fall into the merciless meshes of money-lenders, his proverbial ignorance, his obstinate conservatism and 'inertia,' his extreme poverty and resourcelessness, and lastly the almost insurmountable obstacle presented by the policy of the Government.

Causes of the peasant's poverty.

First as to the question of the indebtedness of the peasants. In all countries, whether Asiatic or European, where agricultural industry forms the main-stay of the people's livelihood, we invariably find that the agricultural classes are always liable to incur debts. The prosperity or otherwise of an agricultural nation is not to be determined by the mere fact of the presence or absence—because in every agricultural country borrowed capital *must* play an important part—of indebtedness, but by the comparative extent to which this indebtedness has been carried. One agricultural country can be declared more prosperous than another if the peasants of the former are better off in point of indebtedness than those of the latter. Judging from this stand-point, India is an exceptionally poor country, because agricultural indebtedness is here a fact of chronic and normal state of matters. The dependence on borrowed capital is made specially prominent in India by the large expend-

Indebtedness.

iture enjoined by social customs and ceremonies as well as by the enormous influence of personal credit naturally prevalent in a country where social rules strongly tie the cultivator to his village. Hence the money-lender has become a necessary part of the Indian economic system. The following extracts from the reports of Famine Commissions shew to what a serious extent the present question has arisen :—

Quotations from Famine Commission Reports.

"No subject has been more strongly and frequently pressed on our attention than the evil results which spring from the degree to which the land-owners are sunk in debt, the asserted rapid increase of their indebtedness, and the difficulty they find in extricating themselves from such burdens. In some parts of India, notably in the four districts of the Bombay, Deccan and the Jhansi district, their indebtedness has become so grievous that the Government has recently been led to take special steps for their rescue; and in other parts it has at different times intervened to protect special classes whose ruin otherwise unavoidable it was thought necessary on political grounds to ward off."

"We learn from evidence collected from all parts of India that about one-third of the land-holding class are deeply and inextricably in debt, and that at least an equal proportion are in debt, though not beyond the power of recovering themselves."

W. W. Hunter bears witness to the fact that in every province of India "the old native rate of interest of 37½ per cent." still prevails. The causes of this great indebtedness have been clearly pointed out by the Famine Commissioners :—

Causes of indebtedness.

"The origin of debt among the landed classes is traceable to various causes, among which the most prominent are the failure of crops from drought, expenditure on marriage or other ceremonies, general thriftlessness, an improvident use of sudden inflations of credit, the exactions of an oppressive body of middle men and administrative errors such as unsuitable revenue settlements; and debt once incurred very rapidly grows with exorbitant rate of interest."

Policy of Native States vs. British Government.

Before the advent of the British rule, the native princes who had a thorough knowledge of the hand-to-mouth living of the peasants and their universal resort to money-lenders, had made it their policy to assist them in times of need with loans of money. State advances had thus formed an integral part of the imperial revenue system even before the time of Akbar. Todar Mal, Sadulla Khan and other great statesmen continued this "Takair" system, as it was

called ; and though grievous failures might have occasionally taken place, yet the policy of encouraging agriculture by Government loans was truly statesmanlike and productive of contentment and prosperity. The British Government discontinued these "Takair" advances ; and the result of this step was that the ryots were thrown upon the tender mercies of usurious money-lenders.

A century of administration however has sufficed to teach the British rulers and statesmen that the policy of the native states is a matter of necessity if the country should be free from famine and poverty. Eminent men like Sir Thomas Munro, Sir James Caird, E. C. Buck have all written in panegyrical terms about the Takair system; and after a good deal of hesitation and slowness, the Government has at length come to the praiseworthy conclusion that the Takair system should be pursued, if needed, to the utmost extent possible. It was this right understanding of the matter that prompted the Government of India to appoint "a Land-indebtedness Commission" in the Bombay Presidency in the year 1891—in order to discover the real root of the evil of indebtedness and to suggest appropriate remedies. The reason for the establishment of the commission was, to use the terms of the Government itself, "the transfer of interests in land from the martial and cultivating classes to the trading and money-lending castes of Hindu Society." The importance of the question is certainly such as to arouse public interest and legislative interference, because the small land-owners who are the representatives of a hundred generations of agriculturists and who have survived the vicissitudes of centuries are being threatened with extinction by becoming "the bond slaves" of "one of the worst types of the landlord that can be found in any country."

The evils of land-indebtedness.

Besides the restoration of the Takair system, another remedy for this absolute rule of usurious capitalists has been suggested, in the form of the establishment of co-operative credit societies in rural parts. In order to understand what an amount of beneficent help can be rendered by sufficient credit organizations in the form of agricultural banks on a co-operative basis, there can be no more interesting study than the exhaustive and splendid reports of the veteran official, F. A. Nicholson.

Agricultural Banks.

NICHOLSON'S VIEWS.

F. A. Nicholson's views.

Nicholson first of all points out many defects which are inherent in a regime of money-lenders. He says that there are three conditions necessary for a proper system of credit, *viz.* :—

(1). Absolute proximity of lender and borrower.

(2). Complete security to the lender, regarding the title of the property offered and its freedom from prior encumbrances, and regarding a safe and sure return of his capital at the proper time.

(3). Thorough facility to the borrower. He must be able to obtain cheap loans " to an amount proportionate to the security he can offer ; and upon terms which will be so equitable in themselves, so convenient asregards repayment, so free from all risk of deliberate entanglement, so based upon published rule, so devoid of any tendency to discount necessity or urgency otherwise than by an equitable insurance, that he can calculate in reaping the full fruits of his prudence, and find in credit a powerful auxiliary to his productive powers and stability."

Defects of the individual money-lender system.

Nicholson points out that the individual money-lender can satisfy only the first of the three conditions laid down above. Because it is impossible for him with his small private capital to satisfy any great demands for loans. Moreover " with no rules save those of his conscience," too much inclined ' to exact terms high in proportion to the urgency of the borrower's need,' and with nobody with powers to examine and correct his accounts, the individual money-lender is apt to give free vent to his greed of money, land or power. Hence, says Nicholson, the substitution of organized credit for that of the money-lender is a necessary development of civilization. General wealth, order, business confidence, habits of association and other attributes of organized credit should take the place of the absolute will and pleasure of money-lenders.

Requisites of an organized credit.

Now, in order to establish a healthy and profitable system of organized credit it should be understood that the true basis of credit is confidence no less than capital. " It is emphatically not the mere outpouring of cheap capital that is required, not the mere grant of cheap and facile credit to classes unprepared for the boon ; what is wanted is the

promotion and development of facilities for saving, the encouragement of banking deposits, the inculcation of the true objects, uses and limits of credit ; in other words, the development of the essential virtues of thrift, foresight and self-help through institutions organized for those ends." The establishment and successful conduct of organized credit institutions requires a great amount of previous education and discipline on the part of the borrowers, so that they are fully capable of learning and extending the lessons of self and mutual help by eliminating themselves from the dangers of usury. Hence in preparing for the reorganization of credit in India, it is not merely cheap capital or banking credit which is to be introduced, but *that* system which can readily develop the national qualities of thrift, resource, prudence and self-help. It is not merely joint-stock, state or savings banks that have the mere issue of capital that are needed, but such credit institutions where "the isolated learn the value and powers of association, where the ignorant are taught the lessons of business, the reckless learn heedfulness, thrift and prudence, the idle and intemperate return to industry and sobriety ; where the prudent, the sober, the skilful, the well-to-do unite with the poorer and weaker brethren in an association of mutual help and self-development."

The sure and efficient means of bringing about this habit of association and education in business knowledge, has been already considered in detail by the Agricultural Banks Committee of which F. A. Nicholson formed the most conspicuous member. The gradual contraction and the ultimate extinction of the practice of usury can be best effected in the opinion of the Agricultural Banks Committee by the inauguration of a huge system of village banks of the Raiffeisen type.

A study of the circumstances in which Raiffeisen, the German Burgomaster, first chalked out his famous co-operative banking system, shews that the agricultural condition of Germany at that time bears a close resemblance to that of India at present. It was in the famines of 1846 and 1847 that Raiffeisen became first acquainted with the crushing troubles of the poor peasant cultivators in the Westphalian districts which were under his administration. With a barren soil, scanty means of communication and 'indifferent markets,' the peasants who were half-starved,—"ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed, ill-brought up—naturally roused the spirit of sympathy and philanthropy which were ingrained in his character. Having from a study of the rural economy of Western

Raiffeisen Banks.

and Southen Germany come to learn the pest of remorseless usury practised by the "Jewish bloodsuckers" who held the poor peasantry in their cruel grasp, Raiffeisen came to the conclusion that the salvation of the country from the effects of famine and the plague of usury, lay in the establishment of some institutions by which the peasants might exercise among themselves self-help and mutual confidence. He first managed to establish a co-operative system of bakery which enabled the starving peasantry to purchase bread very cheaply; and next established a co-operative cattle-purchase association which soon became a familiar feature in all Europe. But it was in the memorable year 1849 that he set up his first Loan Bank with a view to supplying the needy peasantry with money in case they subscribed to his rules. This small undertaking was destined to cause one of the greatest economic revolutions the world has experienced. Within 30 years his Loan Banks spread everywhere with astonishing rapidity. "By 1885," says Henry W. Wolff, "their number had in Germany alone grown to 245, by 1888 to 423, by 1889 to 610, and by 1891 to 885. Wherever they went, as Lavelye says, they succeeded and made themselves general favourites. Government now encourage them, provincial diets ask for them, priests and ministers pronounce their blessings upon them, the peasantry love them."

Their effect in Germany.

No wonder then that the vast aggrarian wealth of Germany has been built up by the marvellous growth of these banks. They number now about 4000 in Germany with a membership of 350,000. To their original scheme of loans for productive purposes they now add immense co-operative business in agricultural requirements; and many peasants have been raised from penury and misery to influence and wealth. Regarding the success of these people's banks, Henry W. Wolff observes :—

Quotation from Henry W. Wolff.

"What untold riches these people's Banks have within the 40 years of their existence made available for small folks' needs, what millions they have added to the wealth of the countries in which, as M. Rostand has it, they 'swarm' and in which, as M. Leon Lay testifies, they 'flourish throughout'; what vast amount of misery, ruin, loss, privations, they have either averted or removed, penetrating where they have once gained a footing into the smallest hovel, and bringing to its beggared occupant employment and the weapons wherewith to start afresh in the battle of life, it will be a difficult task to tell. Propagating themselves by their own merits, they have out-

spread Germany, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium. France is trying to graft them upon her own economic system. Russia has in her own rather primitive way followed the excellent example. Even Egypt has under the rule of its late Khedive Ismail made the useful institution tentatively its own. And now we hear of its spreading from Italy into far Japan—China has got it already—while we in Great Britain scarcely yet know of its existence."

There seems no possible reason why this system which has done so much in other countries should not be successful in this country. The proposals therefore of the Agricultural Committee for the establishment of urban societies and rural co-operative credit unions deserve every encouragement by the Government.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMITTEE.

The proposals of the Agricultural Banks Committee.

In order to understand thoroughly the recommendations of the committee it is necessary that a clear idea should be got of what is called the Raiffeisen Bank. It may be briefly described as the association of a number of men, well acquainted with each other and possessing mutual confidence, who have combined with the object of raising funds from their own savings, from deposits of outsiders and from loans obtained by pledging the joint-credit of the association. Out of the funds thus raised they grant loans at moderate rates of interest to the members for short periods on no other security than that of personal character; so that the poorer classes who cannot afford to bring any other security than their own honesty, might be benefited. The members of the union are to keep a watchful eye on the right application of the loans by the borrowers, any misconduct on the part of the latter making them liable to expulsion from the union. The maximum rate of interest to be charged is 12 per cent. or 2 As. in the Rupee; the amount of credit allowed to each member is fixed every year at a meeting of all the members. The loan is to be generally for one year, though on occasions it might be continued.

The area of each society's operations is to be often a single village or a group of small villages. But in order to minimise risks and losses the village societies are to be affiliated to a larger central association, the support of which will be a source of strength to them. Any surplus profits after the payment of interest on deposits and loans, must be utilized in a gradual reduction of the rates of interest.

Besides these rural co-operative credit societies of unlimited

liability, the committee recommended the formation of urban societies on a share basis (shares being very small in amount) with limited liability. Unlike the rural societies, they can grant loans not only on personal security but on bills of exchange endorsed by the members, and to village co-operative credit societies. They can safely keep jewels, title-deeds or other valuable goods on such terms as they dictate. The chief use of these unions is that they afford facilities to the lower Government servants, artisans and small merchants for investing their savings on better conditions than in the Post Office Savings Banks, etc.,

The question whether they are practicable.

Such are the proposals of the committee; we have now to see whether these can be put into easy practice and whether the amelioration of the peasants will be surely brought about in consequence. The *Madras Mail* of Dec. 17, 1890, says:

"The people of India are pre-eminently fitted for joint-action owing to the existence of the village system in a more or less modified form. Co-operation is still pretty general all over the presidency (and we may say, country); and in many districts partnerships and even joint village action are common in matters of irrigation and other public works; while in regard to matters of local interest, the habit of communal action is practically universal, every village having its own fund, which is usually managed by its chief men and by the authority of a general Punchayet. Mutual Benefit Associations, and Benefit Societies on the Lottery principle are common and Natives Banks are not unknown. Communal action in Southern India is certainly more of a living force than it is in Italy where popular banks have been found readily practicable............ and in Taluq head-quarters, or in selected villages, little difficulty should be experienced in finding men of public spirit, common sense and integrity who would be competent to guide the affairs of small banks with success."

The opinions of the late Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar.

The late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Aiyangar—than whom there is no greater official authority on economic matters regarding the Madras Presidency—thinks this plan to be quite suitable and praticable. He says that the idea of combining into associations for purposes of depositing savings periodically in a common fund and receiving them back in a lump sum, is known to the Indians, as is shewn by their kuttu chit associations. He further suggests that the services of the "Nidhis" such as those established in Tanjore, Cuddalore, Coimbatore, etc., in which the professional classes, merchants and landholders take much interest, might be advanta-

geously utilized in the conduct and furtherance of rural societies. The opinions of almost all great men are in favour of the establishment of rural societies, and the very fact of the concord of opinion between the official and non-official parties is sufficient proof of the wisdom, practicability and sure success of this plan.

Necessity of Government help.

Having seen the practicability and advantages of a successful establishment of co-operative credit unions, we shall now take up the important question of what should be the attitude of the Government towards such societies. Regarding this point the official, from whom we have quoted above, says that both on account of the importance of land for purposes of revenue and its co-proprietorship with the ryot, the Government should lend substantial and pecuniary aids to these co-operative societies. "Such Government help would give the societies stability, and inspire confidence in the minds of the public who would find in the official countenance and support a guarantee as regards their solvency and usefulness." As to the point whether any special privileges are to be granted by the Government to these societies, the Dewan is of opinion that the recommendations of the committee regarding the exemption of stamp-duty and the exemption of shares and deposits from attachment by the Civil Courts, the authorization of summary proceedings against any borrowers for misconduct, the privilege of opening a public fund in the Post Office Savings Banks, &c.,—are all entitled by their spirit of moderation and justice to be listened to by the Government and worthy of being granted. In a lecture before the Society of Arts in 1892, Sir Charles Bernard said :—

The opinions of Sir Charles Bernard.

"If a revised scheme is brought forward of a more practical kind under which rural banks should start from small beginnings as purely local institutions, and under which the banks should have only the ordinary remedy against their debtors, then I think the establishment of such banks should be sanctioned as experiments in one or more districts of every province, where the people and the Collector for the time might be ready to work the scheme. And in that case the State might reasonably help the rural banks by some such concessions as the following :—

(*a*) the loan of public money at 4 per cent. per annum, on the security of the bank and all its assets, in proportion of one rupee of public money for every two rupees of actually paid up private capital.

(*b*) the reduction of all stamp fees by one-half or even by two-thirds on litigation and on deeds for a period of (say) ten years to begin with.

(*c*) the remission of registration fees on documents for five years; and the reduction of fees one-half for five years more.

(*d*) the auditing and publication of the bank's accounts by public officers once in every half-year.

(*e*) the custody of the bank's cash beyond a certain minimum and of the bank's securities in public treasuries and sub-treasuries."

It seems unnecessary to give any more proofs for the advisableness and expediency of the co-operation and countenance of Government in the bringing about of this great and much-needed reform. What I have said already seems enough to impress the reader that the establishment of rural credit unions will, by putting an end to indebtedness and causing many improvements in the cultivation of land, lead in the long run to a regeneration of agricultural India.

We have dwelt rather at length upon the question of agricultural indebtedness, which can be justified however by the immense importance it possesses. We have described the various causes that have given rise to its wide existence in the land, its pernicious effects upon the poorer peasants and agriculturists, and also the remedial plans and measures that have engaged the attention of statesmen and economists. We shall now go on to take up the question of agricultural education which too has recently been attracting a good deal of the attention of the public.

Custom, a strong force among the ryots.

Every observer of the Indian peasant cannot but be struck with the enormous influence which primitive manners and customs have upon him. Even in Europe, where the people are ever after progress and change, the masses are generally tenacious of old customs and practices. The Indian peasants, being bred up under the influence of a civilization which abhors changes and revolutions, are naturally much more prejudiced and suspicious towards any innovations. They possess moreover absolutely no knowledge of Hygiene and cleanliness and are quite ignorant of everything calculated to render life agreeable. With all their marvellous industry, instinctive tact and business power, they are extremely careless and obstinate—a defect solely due to want of education. They do not lack energy or

Their ignorance and resourcelessness.

perseverance, but their excessive ignorance together with the absence of facilities and re-

sources for improvement, presents a great obstacle to the successful performance of all their undertakings. That the Indian peasant is capable enough of understanding the art of agriculture to the greatest extent possible, is sufficiently proved by the following words of Dr. J. A. Voelcker, the famous scientific expert who made his investigations regarding Indian agriculture in the year 1893 :—

Dr. Voelcker's estimate of the Indian peasants.

"At his best the Indian ryot or cultivator is quite as good as, and in some respects the superior of, the average British farmer, whilst at his worst it can only be said that this state is brought about largely by an absence of facilities for improvement which is probably unequalled in any other country, and that the ryot will struggle on patiently and uncomplainingly in the face of difficulties in a way that no one else would. What does however prevent them from growing larger crops is the limited facilities to which they have access, such as the supply of water and manure. But to take the ordinary acts of husbandry nowhere would one find better instances of keeping land scrupulously clean from weeds, of ingenuity in device of water-raising appliances, of the knowledge of the soils and their capabilities, as well as of the exact time to sow and to reap, as one would in Indian agriculture. It is wonderful, too, how much is known of rotation, the system of mixed crops and of fallowing. Certain it is that I at least have never seen a more perfect picture of careful cultivation combined with hard labour, perseverance and fertility of resource than I have seen at many of the halting-places in my tour."

While it must be conceded with Dr. Voelcker that the ryot at his best has evolved a nearly perfect system of agriculture, it can scarcely however be gainsaid that, as Mr. Chatterton says, "his methods of procedure are laborious and his equipment of tools more distinguished for their simplicity of construction than for the effectiveness of their operation. It is in this respect, I think, that a properly devised system of industrial education might effect much for the benefit of the ryot."

Mr. Alfred Chatterton's opinions on agricultural education and well-irrigation.

In an article entitled "Agricultural Education" in the *Indian Review* of August 1903, Mr. Alfred Chatterton points out that industrial schools established and developed under proper guidance and on sound principles can be made to render inestimable assistance to the agricultural community. To take one example ; out of the 23 million acres which form the area of cultivation in the Madras Presidency, only about two million acres are being irrigated by wells ; and any material improvement of agri-

culture can be only brought about by a large extension of well-cultivation. But this extension is possible and will be profitable only if the peasants are taught mechanical and motor appliances for lifting water in place of the primitive and laborious plans prevalent at present. The employment of oil-engines and mechanical sources of motive power in place of the present animal ones, the substitution of windmills for cattle in the lifting of water from wells; and other like improvements which will lighten the toil of the cultivator while enhancing his profits and returns,—can only be brought about by imparting to him such training as will enable him to appreciate the advantages of labour-saving appliances. This can be best effected by rural industrial schools in all parts of the country, where the peasants and their boys must be taught the modern ways and methods of agriculture in experimental farms. The Government should help these schools with considerable advances under the Agricultural Improvements Act. Managed by an agriculturist well-versed in modern scientific methods of cultivation, and carefully looked after and examined by the Government authorities of the Educational Department, these schools should do their best 'to demonstrate the possibilities of the best known systems of cultivation' by imparting full instruction on the management of improved implements of agriculture, on house-building, the construction of ploughs, water-lifts and other machines useful for the agricultural community. "If the ryot" says Mr. Chatterton, "be relieved of the drudgery of water-lifting under existing conditions and provided with better implements, and taught in the industrial schools to handle them properly, then there can scarcely be any doubt but that there will be some breaking away from the hide-bound traditions of the past; and that such disruption will mark the dawn of a new era in Indian agriculture in which nature will be assisted by science, and the land will yield us fruit abundantly in response to the intelligent demands which are made upon it."

Necessity of the introduction of machines and mechanical appliances.

Rural schools and experimental farms

But by the emphasis which Mr. Alfred Chatterton lays upon the improvement of well-cultivation, it is not meant that canal and tank irrigation has already got at a condition which needs no improvement. Unlike other problems of Indian agriculture,—*e.g.*, the problems of indebtedness, education, revenue settlement, etc.—the question of irrigation has long ago found a satisfactory solution in the discovery by Sir

Want of canal and tank irrigation.

Arthur Cotton of the fact that the real salvation of India from the effects of famine and scarcity lay in the construction of an elaborate scheme of canal irrigation all over the peninsula. Arthur Cotton heartily detested the railway-mania and maintained that canals of irrigation might also serve equally efficiently as means of communication. Had the wise policy of Sir Arthur been adopted by the Government years ago—a policy which had for its object the construction of canals for irrigation and communication all over India, so that the water of the thousands of rivers that wastily rush into the ocean, can be utilized for purposes of agriculture—the state of the country would never have become so miserable as it is at present. We have no space to describe the statesmanlike plans of this truly great man; but if the reader wishes to read the best book on Indian Irrigation, then certainly Miss Hope's "Life and Works of Sir Arthur Cotton" undoubtedly deserves the choice.

The advantages of agricultural education

Agricultural education will better the conditions of land and its cultivation in numerous other ways. Dr. Voelcker says that the exigencies of circumstances which demand the giving of more attention to the cultivation of land, and the interest in agriculture aroused by the spread of education will go far to weaken many prejudices and differences which have so long prevented the extension of agricultural practices to the capable of all sections of the community. Whether this is true or not, it is difficult to say; but this much is certain—that the spread of education among the agricultural classes will lead to the aspiration on the part of the peasants towards a higher standard of life and comfort. They will begin to look for better meals, more costly dresses and other 'decencies' which are now looked upon as purely luxuries. The advantages of such a higher life have been expressed by the economist Mc'Cullock thus:—

A higher standard of life.

"When the standard of natural or necessary wages is high—when wheat and beef for example form the principal part of the food of the labourer, and port and beer the principal part of his drink—he can bear retrench in a season of scarcity. Such a man has a room to fall; he can resort to cheaper sorts of food—to barley, oats, rice and potatoes. But he who is habitually fed on the cheapest food has nothing to resort to, when deprived of it.................whenever that supply of potatoes (or other cheap food used) fails, it is next to impossible that he should escape falling a sacrifice to famine."

The same idea has been expressed by Thorold Rogers, when

he says that "a community which subsists habitually on dear food is in a position of peculiar advantage, when compared with another which lives on cheap food." Professor Walker observes: "If the food of the people be the lowest and the cheapest like rice in India and potatoes in Ireland, the failure of the crop means starvation, no adequate reserve being expected to be provided on a sufficient scale by the population of any country. If the kind of food be higher and dearer, the masses may in the event of a failure of the crop or crops concerned, fall back for the time upon the lower and the cheaper." It is not however the introduction of a dearer and more 'sumptuous' food that is advocated to the already 'half-starved' peasantry; but what is meant is that the conception of a higher standard of life regarding food, dress, etc., will be a great incentive to honest labour and mutual self-help among the peasants.

Over and above causing a right appreciation of the advantages of a higher system of irrigation and of a higher standard of life, agricultural education will be of immense service to the country as it will certainly do much to curb that cursed spirit of inaction and 'inertia' which Prof. Walker rightly attributes to the Indian peasant. The stimulus to improvement will give rise to material and substantial work only if the spirit of suspicion against progress or innovation is removed by the dispelling of the excessive ignorance and reckless improvidence which characterise the Indian masses. Adam Smith says that the decisive mark of the prosperity of a nation is the increase of population. But in India the increase of population—which is inconsistent with the capacity of the soil for providing subsistence—is not the mark of an advancing prosperity; but, as Prof. Walker says, the result of an improvident and reckless 'procreativeness' among the masses which is the outcome of growing resourcelessness and ignorance. Education will put an end to this blind, reckless, stationary and passive character and cause a spirit of competition, and enterprise among the peasants.

Extinction of the spirit of 'inertia' and of improvidence.

In the important problem of land improvement one of the most serious questions to be decided is whether agricultural development should be effected by the adoption of a method which modern science points out, or whether it should be brought about in strict concord with traditional methods and practices. The impoverishment, the dejection and the suffering which has been the lot of the Indian agriculturists can be

The problem of land improvement.

put an end to only by a wide departure from the present mode and work. But whether that change should be of a revolutionary or reformatory character, has been a question of deep controversy and raging dispute.

'The party of revolution' bases its opinion upon the following grounds. The agricultural history of England, Scotland and other European countries shews that improved methods of cultivation can be effected only by a radical change from open-field farms to enclosed holdings. As at present in India, so originally in England, the open-field system of farming had been prevalent. Mr. Prothero in his "Land-marks on British Farming" points out many disadvantages attending this system. For example, no open field farmer can farm with spirit; he can make no use of improved methods of cultivation, new crops, better live-stock or mechanical invention. Law suits would be most frequent regarding encroachments by neighbours. Much time would be wasted and cattle worn out owing to the distance to be traversed from parcel to parcel of a holding; and consequently much of the land would be neglected. No individual can improve his live-stock, since infectious diseases are rarely absent from the promiscuously herded half-starved cattle of the community. "Such a system," says Prothero, "might provide for the requirements of the tillers of the soil, but not for a teeming population. In England the agricultural progress of six centuries may be practically summed up in the change from open-field farms to enclosed holdings. It is the history of a good machine driving out a bad one." Hence this revolutionary school holds that without the introduction of enclosures and individual occupation, which can be brought about by the concentration and consolidation of holdings, agricultural progress can never be attained.

The party of revolution.

The other party, which prefers a modification and adaptation of the Indian traditional customs to suit scientific conditions of modern times instead of bringing about a sudden and unwished-for change in the nature of the holdings itself, has many distinguished men among them. Dr. Voelcker to whose report on Indian agriculture this paper is highly indebted, says :—

"The work of discovering the agricultural needs may not be so hard a one, but that of supplying them will invariably be very difficult. When the cultivated area of a country is split up into small holdings of five acres or less, when capital is correspondingly small, and the numbers living on

the holdings are by contrast great, when the land is subdivided among the members of a family and they refuse to migrate elsewhere, it becomes hard to say how to proceed in the way of improvement ; and I am convinced that the work of improvement will be a slow and difficult one. Sir James Caird expressed himself as assured of the practical ability and knowledge of the cultivators of India, and the Famine Commissioners clearly stated their conviction that the work of improvement should be on *native* lines, and be the outcome of careful enquiry into existing methods and practices. In agreement with these authorities, I think that whatever improvement can be made, it will come about by a transfer of the practice of a better part (of the country) to an inferior one, and by the increase of facilities, such as the supply of water, manure, wood and grazing where they are deficient, rather than by any *considerable* introduction of European methods or implements."

The party of reform, Dr. Voelcker.

Other requisites for agricultural improvement.

The great burden on land which is becoming more and more overwhelming with an ever-increasing population, can be enlightened either by increasing the area of cultivation or by making the lands already under cultivation more productive by means of scientific appliances that will counteract the tendency of lands to the diminishing point of returns. The cultivation of waste lands should be encouraged by increasing facilities for transport and communication and thus making them more easily accessible to outside markets. Much potential wealth lies inert and unused in the bosom of the land (*e.g.*, in the exuberantly fertile soils covered by rank jungles, topes of trees, bamboo groves, &c.) and efforts must be made for the utilization of these resources. The improvement of land already under cultivation requires much scientific knowledge. The Mission of the educated agriculturists should be to help the labouring classes with advice and disseminate among them knowledge gathered by Government in its agricultural, geological and other departments, as well as the knowledge gained from the scientific agriculturists in other parts of the world. A thorough acquaintance is necessary with the agricultural conditions of the country in order to find out what "adaptation is needed to suit modern and new scientific methods and maxims to the Indian staples and climate."—A work which educated *natives* alone can hope to competently perform. The peasant should be taught the importance of sub-soil drainage which, while requiring less irrigation, will cause a quicker and healthier germination of plants and cereals.

Increased facilities for transports.

Scientific knowledge.

Sub-soil drainage.

They should also be made to appreciate the advantages of growing trees and plants in modifying the climatic conditions of the country. The vast uncultivated 'usar' plains with their soda-impregnated soil can be made, as Dr. Voelcker says, "to grow grass, trees and even crops by such means as simple enclosure, exclusion of grazing, heavy manuring, flooding with canal silt and embanking rain-water." The ryots should also be sufficiently educated in the science of manuring, so that a vast amount of cattle-manure which is so largely wasted in the form of fuel, can be most profitably used in enriching the soil with the nitrogen, organic and vegetable matters which are so much wanted by it. In many other ways agricultural education will pave the way for the solution of the problem of land-improvement; and it is highly gratifying to see that the Government is gradually replacing its hitherto "unsystematic, ill-designed and almost wholly abortive" efforts by substantial and politic works in examining local conditions and limitations of agricultural practice, making research and experiment in the fields, and in dealing with disease in cattle and crop.

Manuring.

The necessity of the change of the Government's Land Policy.

But neither the establishment of co-operative credit societies with a view to the extinction of agricultural indebtedness and the development of national character, nor the setting up of rural schools and experimental farms in order to educate the lower classes and the ryots in such matters as the introduction of new and scientific methods of cultivation, the usage of machines and mechanical appliances, the importance of irrigation, manure, etc.—will be of any use at all, if the present policy of Government with regard to land settlement continues. No measures, however salutary and statesman-like they may be, can successfully effect the improvement of agriculture, unless the Government gives a great incentive to it by substantially altering its present land policy. What is that policy, and why it should be given up when looked up from the agricultural point of view, will form the subject of our next article. The question of land settlement is so important and is the subject of so much controversy, that it is necessary to devote a new and separate chapter to it.

V. RANGACHARI.

SOME NOTES ON THE RAMAYANA.

I. Rama's Causeway.

HOMER, in Book VII of his Iliad, makes the Greeks raise a wall along the sea-shore for the defence of their ships from the attacks of the Trojans. Neptune felt jealous of this structure, and he complained of it to Jupiter. Jupiter, however, allayed his fears, saying :—

> "But yon proud work no future age shall view,
> No trace remain where once the glory grew.
> The sapped foundations by their force shall fall,
> And, whelm'd beneath thy waves, drop the huge wall ;
> Vast drifts of sand shall change the former shore,
> The ruin vanish'd, and the name no more."—
>
> *Pope's translation.*

On this statement of Homer Mr. Gladstone remarks :—"Why does Neptune obtrude upon the Olympian Court his insignificant and rather absurd jealousy, lest the work of defence, hastily thrown up by the Achæen army, should eclipse the wall built round Troy by Apollo and himself? Evidently in order to obtain from Jupiter the suggestion that he should subsequently himself efface all traces of it. But why does Homer show this anxiety to account for its non-appearance? Why does he return subsequently to the subject, most carefully relate how Jupiter by raining, and Apollo by turning the mouths of eight rivers, and Neptune with his trident, all co-operated to destroy the work, and make the shore smooth and even again? Had Homer lived many generations after the Trojan war, these passages would have been entirely without purpose ; for he need not then have given reason to show why ages had left no trace still visible of the labour of a day. But if he lived near the period of the war, the case is very different. He might then be challenged by his maritime hearers, who if they frequented the passage into the sea of Marmora, would have had clear views of the camp of Agamemnon, and who would naturally require him to assign a cause for the disappearance even of such a work as a day's labour of the army could produce, and the Trojan soldiery could make practicable for their chariots to drive over."*

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* **Gladstone's Studies on Homer and Homeric Age, Vol. I., Sec. IV, P. 40.**

Something analogous to the above is to be found in the Ramayana. Rama caused a causeway to be built from the mainland to the island of Ceylon, right across the sea, for his army to cross over. This causeway, as all causeways are, was one continuous work without gaps or breaks in it; and was to remain so for all times. Griffith thus translates the passage:—

> " There stretches, famed for evermore,
> The wond'rous bridge from shore to shore.
> The worlds, to life's remotest day,
> Due reverence to the work shall pay,
> Which holier for the lapse of time,
> Shall give release from sin and crime."—
>
> *Book* vi, *Canto* cxxv.

Now applying Mr. Gladstone's arguments to the case of the Ramayana before us, we conclude that no idea whatever of the real nature of the communication between the mainland and the island of Ceylon existed among the masses of the population of Northern India at the time when Ramayana was written ; and that anything on the subject could be related to them without fear of contradiction. That whatever knowledge about it existed among the well-informed part of the people was erroneous. There might have been a little trade at that time between Northern India and Ceylon, and the writer in the Ramayana might have obtained information which came to him through several hands from people who visited Ceylon, so that in the course of filtration the chain of petty rocks and islands came to be represented as an unbroken line of embankment. Between the time when the so-called Valmiki's Ramayana was written and that when Kirttibash wrote his Bengali version, which is supposed to be about the end of the 15th century, A.D., many changes took place. *Setubandha* had become a place of pilgrimage, and hundreds of people flocked there, and saw with their own eyes that the *setu* was not a continuous piece of work. On return to their respective homes they told their friends and neighbours what they had seen, so that the real state was pretty well known all over the country. Kirttibash had, therefore, more correct information about the causeway than the writer of the original Ramayana. Kirttibash could not say that the causeway was an unbroken piece of work stretching from shore to shore, nor could he dare deny the statement in the Sanskrit Ramayana which had by this time become sacred in the eyes of the people. In this dilemma he had recourse to a story. He had stated in his

Sundarakanda that the causeway, he describes as a sort of floating bridge, once stretched from shore to shore in one unbroken line; and to account for its present broken condition he related that when Rama was about to leave Lanka, after having killed Ravana and won back Sita, the sea-god appeared before him and begged that the fetters imposed on him in the shape of the causeway might be removed, now that he had gained his object and that the causeway was no longer necessary. Rama directed Lakshmana to comply with the god's request. Accordingly Lakshmana removed three pieces of stone, evidently to correspond with the three larger gaps in the chain, with the end of his bow, and allowed the waters of the ocean to run through the gaps. Thus Kirttibash maintained the authority of the original Ramayana that the causeway was a continuous one when built, and at the same time reconciled the statement of the pilgrims.

II. Who were the Rakshasas?

Who were the Rakshasas described in the Ramayana? Before we can answer this question it will be necessary for us to notice the tract of the country they inhabited, their physical features, and the character attributed to them. We see that Rama found Tadaka in the jungle near the banks of the Ganges. The whole extent of jungle land from the Vindyas to the Godavari are described to be dotted over by the huts of the hermits who were annoyed by the Rakshasas. It may be presumed that the hermits could not live in isolated huts by themselves, but they had behind them small colonies of the Aryans. This extensive land appears therefore to be "debatable ground," or rather the ground which the Rakshasas were losing and the Aryans were gaining. In the extreme south of India and in Ceylon the Rakshasas reigned supreme. As regards their physical features, we must make a selection from the wild exaggerations with which they have been depicted. It may, however, be safe to say that they were a dark people, with large limbs, strong, and thick lips, and ugly at least in the eyes of the Aryans. Their character again has been greatly distorted, besides, the writer in the Ramayana has invested them with Aryan civilisation just as Homer invested the Trojans with Greek manners and customs. We may infer, nevertheless, that they believed in one God whom the Aryan writers identified with Brahma; they were inimical to Brahmanical cult, and frequently disturbed the Brahmanas in their worship; and that they were voracious meat-eaters.

This description closely corresponds with the one we have of the Dasyus in the Rig Veda. They too were a dark race, strong of limbs, inhabiting the jungles, defying Aryan gods, and disturbing the ceremonies of Aryan worship. In fact they kept up continual warfare with the Aryans who invaded their jungles and came to settle there. We are therefore led to believe that the Rakshasas were not a particular race of the aboriginals who dwelt in Southern India but the aboriginals in general ; not the Buddhists of Ceylon as some European scholars imagine, but the same as the Dasyus of the Rig Veda. In fact the Dasyus described in the Rig Veda have been transformed into Rakshasas in the Ramayana.

III. The speed of Chariots.

Even in books and records written purposely to publish a falsehood there are many things incidentally mentioned which may be taken as true. Such things either escape the attention of the writer or are not thought of by him worth disfiguring. In the Ramayana which is replete with exaggerations of the wildest and the most monstrous kind there are descriptions of customs and manners of the people, of their food and dress, which are worthy of credit. When we read in it of Rama's journey from Ceylon to Ayodhya in an ærial car we are justified in disbelieving it. But then we find a chariot drawn by horses, sent from one place to another and reaching its destination within a reasonable time, we cannot very well set it aside as a thing which never happened. The first instance of such a journey we find in the Balakandam where a fast going chariot was despatched from Mithila to Ayodhya to announce to Dasharatha the impending marriage of his sons with the daughters of the royal house of Mithila [Ch. LXVIII of Hemchandra's edition]. This chariot covered the distance in four days. But Dasharatha coming to Mithila reached it on the fifth day. [Ch. LXIX]. This is as it should be. For a king moving with his followers necessarily took more time than a single chariot despatched with haste.

The next instance of the kind we find in Ayodhyakandam [Ch. LVII] where Sumantra's chariot took three days to return to Ayodhya from Guha's place. There is still another instance [Ch. LXXI and LXXII] in the same book. It took Bharata to come to Ayodhya from his maternal uncle's place eight days. Now from these facts before us can we not draw a conculsion as to the rate at which chariots could run in those days?

Now it is evident that the chariots did not run at night. A run

of eight hours during day,—five hours in the morning and three hours in the afternoon,—is nearly the utmost which the men could do. We have now to ascertain the length of the roads traversed by the chariots in the three instances given above, *viz.*, from Mithila, modern Janakapur, to Ayodhya ; from Guha's place, near Allahabad to Ayodhya ; and from Bharata's maternal uncle's kingdom, supposed to be Rajgir on the Beas, to Ayodhya. It may be presumed that the road between any two of these places did not run in an exactly mathematical straight line. The road had its angles and bends, its turnings and windings. Perhaps we will not be much wrong if, in finding the length of the road between any two places we increase the length of the straight line between those two places by 25 p.c. With these remarks we subjoin the statement below which gives us the required information :—

Names of places.	Approximate distance, as the crow flies, in miles.	Supposed length of the roads in miles.	Number of days taken by the chariot to travel.	Number of hours taken by the chariot to travel at the rate of eight hours a day.	Rate per hour of the speed of the chariot.
From Janakapur to Ayodhya ...	225	280	4	32	9 miles.
From Allahabad to Ayodhya ...	100	125	3	24	5 miles.
From Rajgir on the Beas to Ayodhya	480	600	4	64	9⅓ miles.

The run at the rate of about nine miles an hour, as we have calculated in the first and third instances in the table above, is a good one. It bespeaks that the horses were stout, the chariot strongly built, and the road was tolerably smooth. This rate may be taken as the one which a *fast-going* chariot could travel in those days. The next, at the rate of five miles an hour, from Allahabad to Ayodhya, may be accepted as the *ordinary* rate. Sumantra, after setting down Rama and his party in the wilderness, was not in a hurry to return to Ayodhya by desperate drive. Neither could he very well loiter on the way as he had an important message to deliver to the King, namely that his mandate had been obeyed. It

may be remarked that the speed of the chariot from Rajgir to Ayodhya was somewhat more than the rate shown in the table above. For, in its course, the chariot had to cross several large rivers which must have taken considerable time and which has not been taken into calculation.

J. C. Dutt.

LESSONS FROM THE LIFE OF GLADSTONE.

GLADSTONE—What is in that name, one may ask, that it should have such an immense power in the whole civilised world? What is in that name that the studious reader in his sequestered room should suddenly raise his head from the pages of his book and starting from his chair echo back the name of 'Gladstone'? History never boasts of a more skilful pilot who directed the destiny of—not one nation, but—the whole civilised world for more than half a century amidst the surging waters of parties, treaties and intrigues, negotiations, revolutions and rebellions. Italy hails the man as her grand Liberator from the dreadful claws of lawlessness and misery, and Girabaldi and Poerio rise from their tombs at the music of Gladstone's name. Montenegro feels a thrill of grateful animation at the sound, and turns her eyes bedimmed with tears of love to the great English Statesmån to whom she owed her life and independence. France and Russia, Belgium and Greece, the United States of America and the Great Eastern Empire of China, all rise one above the other claiming intimate relations with the Grand Old Man. At the dead of night Midlothian starts up even to-day as if she heard the harmonious flow of his heavenly tongue. Oppressed Erin and depressed India both fall prostrate with loyalty and love at the sound of a name which they cherish in their hearts with fondness and admiration. Albion shows with pride in the pages of her history the man who steered her right on without suffering shipwreck at the shoals of parties—who added dignity and weight to the deliberations of her House of Commons—who raised her in the estimation of the outside public and held out stout John Bull as the stubborn champion of justice and truth.

When one looks back at this glorious life which lasted for nearly a century, one cannot help exclaiming—Man is great! A glance at the bright and the beautiful expanse of his living days will convince us that man's power is unlimited—that he can bid kings and kingdoms kneel before him in timid expectation—that he can, by a few words struck in the proper tune at the proper time, sustain millions of souls in their bodies—that with a thoughtful letter dashed off in timely haste he can turn the tide of public expectation and public anxiety as it best suits his purpose. As an orator he had no

equal. We have heard how when the whole House was resolute against his opinion, he knocked at them hard with pregnant arguments cased in poignant words,and not only shattered all opposition to pieces, but shook and uplifted them and soared aloft with them to his own ground infusing his own convictions into their minds heaving with the wild agitation waging there at the words of Gladstone! This was no ordinary power. Genius, versatility, tenacity and will-power are among the foremost of human capabilities, and these Gladstone the orator possessed to the highest degree. Each fiery wink of his eye, each forcible motion of his hand, smashed the antagonistic heart into atoms, and there he stood at the end of a three or four hours' speech with all the exultation a forester feels at cleansing an intricate bush and making a spacious passage. He has opened up a way whence he can marshal his Education Bill or Budget. He held thousands and thousands of human hearts suspended in awful expectation, and rapidly whirled them aloft. The workman hurrying to his miserable pit stopped to hear the greatest orator of his age, and in five minutes forgot his purpose and his being, stood enchanted, and when at the close heaven and earth seemed to shake with the cheers of the audience, he looked up and down and about in fond surprise to see where he was and what he was about. His enemies were tossed about in the surging waves of the sensation he created, and their rudder and compass all lost were drifted on to—Silence! When Italy was groaning desperately at the close and iron grip of lawlessness it was Gladstone's hand that struck the spark that ended in that glorious conflagration which rivetted the attention of the whole European continent. Well might Girabaldi term him the Saviour of Italy. The Ionian Islands excited to revolutionary ideas felt in Gladstone a wholesome restraint and felt in him the sympathetic and skilful commissioner who restored them to independence. 'Ireland and Home Rule' swayed to and fro in the sweeping storm of party agitation, supported by the tongue and pen of, what Mr. Parnell said, the Grand Old Man. That a human being should have, for sixty years, held up the cause of humanity and fair play not only in his own country, but in all parts of the civilised world, in the distant United States in the West, in the Cape Colony in the South, China and India in the East and the Russian Empire in the North!—What an extensive area for the exercise of human abilities! *What a bright example* of the extent of those abilities!

'It is not his knowledge that attracts; it is not his ethical tests and standards; it is not that dialectical strength of arm which, as Mark Pattison said of him, could twist a bar of iron to its purpose. It is the combination of these with elevation, with true sincerity, with extraordinary mental force.' Yes, sincerity is the word! deep, unaffected inborn and inarticulate sincerity. He rose up to speak not because he *had to* speak, but because he *could not help* speaking. His heart rose within him, and he stood up to pour forth the eddying emotions of a sincere heart! Gladstone did not hunt for apt expressions at midnight. Nothing of the sort. He sees before him the colossal form of corruption or mistake. He rises, and spits iron indignation at it, and splinters it into shivers. Or he sees misery and lawlessness rearing their towering heads on the people of a country, and he blows out with his tongue till every heart has caught it and rises up to put them down.

Be it white-skin or black-skin or yellow-skin, he cares not. He stands, a grim earnest man. Corruption in whatever form, in whatever skin, must quake before him. Honest corruption or dishonest corruption, they must 'exeunt,' or with a terrible storm he will shake them. The one secret of Gladstone's great success in his life was 'Sincerity.'

Another characteristic of Gladstone was his simplicity. When the whole world was wringing with his praises—when Italy was hailing him its great Saviour—when Montenegro was uprearing its giant limbs—when the whole continent, nay, the whole world, Ireland, United States, India, the entire inhabited world were breathing the great name of Gladstone, he was perhaps cutting an oak in the Hawarden Gardens—or walking briskly alone and meditative at the rate of 3 or 4 miles per hour. When the speech that flowed from his tongue had completely turned the flow of thoughts in the heads of his antagonists, when one member looked fondly at another, not knowing where he was, stunned by the headlong torrent, this great man did not wax important, and thrust his hands into his trousers' pockets and say, 'How great a man am I?' but wondered how he had been sustained through his speech, and instead of walking to the further end of the verandah to exult over his success, knelt down and prayed to God. Here is what Gladstone says after a great speech.

"Prayer earnest for the moment was wrung from me in my necessity; I hope it was not a blasphemous prayer, for support in pleading the cause of Justice......I am half insensible even in the

moment of delight to such pleasures as this kind of occasion affords. But this is a dangerous state, indifference to the world is not love of God."

Gladstone was not only an orator. "I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." *This* is what he says when he has the weight of fifty-nine years upon his frame. *This* is what he says when the great Francis Newman writes to him—"I dare not intrude on you sentiments which are happily shared by so many thousands of warm and simple hearts. Sentiments of warm admiration, deep sympathy, fervent hope, longing expectation of lasting national blessing from your certain elevation to high responsibility. In the moral power which you wield, go on to elevate and purify public life, and we shall bless you, dear sir, as a regenerator of England. Keep the hearts of the people. They will never envy you and never forsake you." What a noble impression made by the *great* Gladstone! But how coolly, how magnanimously this great man takes this compliment—"I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." Church, afterwards the Dean of St. Paul's, said at this time of Gladstone—the cynosure of *all* eyes!—"There never was a man so genuinely admired for the qualities which deserve admiration—his earnestness, his deep popular sympathies, his unflinching courage; and there never was a man more deeply hated both for his good points and for undeniable defects and failings"—but as Bright quoted from that immortal poet Byron:—

> "He who ascends to mountain-tops, shall find
> The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
> He who surpasses or subdues mankind
> Must look down on the hate of those below."

But while praises like this were sung by these most eloquent mouths whose words were looked upon as oracles by the simple housewife working on her spindle, or the illustrious Baron driving on his coach and pair to—the House of Lords!—the hero sits with all sedateness and complaisance in his study, without any emotion whatsoever, and says to himself—"Well, this may be true; but for my part, as I have been a learner all my life, I must continue to be a learner till my death." Or perhaps he was striding along at a very brisk pace—as he always does. Apparently a rough countryman in his own way. But this rough sturdy figure at once stops when it comes across a young girl with a heavy load on her head, and then—then with a sigh cries out—'And there are many less

'deserving girls who swing on their couches. What a pity—But 'God's will be done!'—and walks along, thinking upon the condition of Man—and when the passers by looked upon him with great admiration, and some even hailed him as the Grand Old Man, or the greatest man of the age, he blushed, as if conscious of something in him which did not deserve all this and murmured to himself—' I have been a learner all my life and learner I must continue to be."

You laugh at this grey old fellow, five and eighty years old, saying without a tinge of shame upon his cheeks—I have been a learner all my life, and a learner I must continue to be." Why, you have passed your B.A., and what is there that you do not know? You have read Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice' for your F.A., and 'Othello' for your B.A.—Also 'Tempest' when you failed to pass in the First year. Ah! Ah!—and what more do you want to know? You have also studied Algebra and Trigonometry—and, Greek, Roman and Indian History! And you also know about vertebral disc or fibula, and what is there you do not know? Perhaps you are even teaching others to learn. What!—you ask—for a great man, whose breath is expected by the Captain of the ship to fill his canvas and carry it right on through the malestorm of Party Politics, you say, for such a great man to say that he has been 'a learner all his life and a learner he must continue to be"! You are surprised. And you point with pride and admiration to the bright example of a young man, calling himself the ruler of more than three hundred millions of people, branding them all liars and flatterers, and that too when he had been only for about five years among them! This great man 'has never been a learner all his life, and can never continue to be a learner.' I had well said 'may he never continue to be a learner all his life,' for if with a four-years' learning he has found out so much, he may with a life's learning find—God knows what?—and we tremble to imgine!

Here is the great difference. Mr. Gladstone, old and venerable with age, authoritative by experience, and consulted by Kings and Emperors for his insight and wisdom, with the whole nation, the whole continent of Europe, nay, the whole world looking up to him for liberty, with Statesmen invoking the aid of his breath to fill the canvas of the State, still says with steadiness and humility—' I have been a learner all my days and a learner I must continue to be.'

I have to confess that Gladstone is very unlike my unknown friend. This *great* man, who has passed his B.A.—after having got *plucked* as the expression goes!—and gets seventy rupees a month,

thinks that he has done all, known all and experienced all. He does so much as will get him seventy rupees—nothing more! But Gladstone, he was a horrible worker! He was not his own master. He was carried away by his work. He lent himself up entirely to his countrymen—to his fellow-creatures! In his diary this is a commonplace entry you find—worked for 13 hrs. to-day—worked for 20 hours to-day! And this is not ordinary work! Drafting of bills or making of speeches and above all studying of records! He had now to make fresh grapples with finance,—at another time to plunge into the intricacies of the land problem—to run through untoward colleagues—and to rise up to all the "inexorable demands of my political vocation." For more than half-a-century that he was whirled in the vortex of parliamentary life, he was literally immersed in work. Yes, says my unknown friend, and I too am whirled in my own way. It is true. But Gladstone could have, if he wished, lived happily and quietly. But life was with him a grim earnest thing. He sees misery and lawlessness around him, and so long as he has a drop of living blood beating upon his temple he will see that they are rooted out. Even when like a ripe fruit he was swinging in the storm of Time, and stress of work, he still lifted his grey head to catch a glimpse at Homer or write a letter to an old woman who had applied to him for help. He scolded even leading ministers pretty directly, and indeed his own personal example of absolutely unremitting attendance at the scene of action, entitled him to rebuke slackness. To one correspondent he writes (January 21, 1869) 'I hope you do not think my 'holiday' at Hawarden has proved my idleness, for I think ten hours a day has been a moderate estimate of my work there on public business, to which some other matters have had to be added.' To the Attorney-general he says when he has had three years more of it (September 18, 1872):—'I cannot say with you that my office never gives me a day without business, for in the four "vacations" so far as they have gone, I think I have had no less than five days. This vacation has thus far been the best; but heavy and critical work impends.' In October, 1871, he writes to Mrs. Gladstone from Edinburgh:—'I have for the first time since the Government was formed, had a holiday of two whole days.' To Lord Clarendon he writes from Lord Granville's at Walmer (September 2, 1869):—'At the end of a holiday morning is work; since I breakfasted at nine, which has lasted till near four, I have yet to say a few words about

......' To Archdeacon Harrison, (May 25, 1873) :—' As you may like to have the exact anatomy of my holiday on the Queen's Birthday, I will give it you. 2¼ A.M., return home from the H. of C., 10 A.M., two hours' work in my room, 2—7, the Cabinet. Three quarters of an hour's walk, 8—12 32 to dinner and an evening party, 12, bed !' To Sir R. Phillimore, (July 23, 1873) :—' Not once this year (except a day in bed) have I been absent from the hours of Government. Business in the House, and the rigour of attendance is far greater now than at earlier periods of the Session."

This is a man of action indeed. But here too we have what are called men of action. They go into their offices exactly at ten, and come out of them precisely at five—and they call this onerous work ! Go to any one of them at a minute past five—Aah ! come to-morrow ! is the inevitable answer. And these are men of action ! Go to these so called men of action and of every ten words they utter, the ' I have no time, I am sorry ' will often come out, and one wonders what these do. Smoking and playing and driving occupy one half of their time,—but what can they do—the climate is damned hot !

And here the painful thought forces itself upon our mind—out of the small span of years alloted for man, how many he loses—loses ! With many, more than half their lives is spent in the sweet land of sleep and dreams. Eating and exercise take up the most part of the other half, and alas ! it is only a small fraction of our days on earth that we utilise for ourselves. This small fraction available goes towards the maintenances of *ourselves*, and most of us, bipeds—without feathers !—never spend a second for the cause of pure sympathy and fellow-feeling. Just think of this ! What did God make us for ? To live to eat ? No, says our unknown friend—I eat to live ! and yet he thinks he has done his duty if he works from eleven to five o'clock—pray, do not count the one hour interval, and the many minutes he has to spend in pleasant chit-chat with his neighbour, and this is very onerous work indeed ! The calls of friendship and family make up the rest of his time.

' Seven hours to law, to soothing slumber seven
Ten to the world's allot and all to heaven !'

This principle though appreciated by all, is observed by almost none. But Gladstone often gave less hours to sleep, less to the world's allot. He gave all his hours literally to heaven !

If in the letters of Gladstone one wishes to meet with anything like wit, one will have to turn back disappointed. He was a true

man of action. The be-all and the end-all of his existence was hard strenuous labour. With him the great secret of success lay in that word Effort. Even in his letters to his wife the husband is entirely lost in the Minister. 'Attended Cabinet'—'had an audience with the Queen'—'Lord so and so came to me'—'spoke upon that Bill'—'voted for this bill'—such are the letters Gladstone writes to his wife. His letters are mostly concerned with points of business. A grim earnest stalwart man, 'his correspondence has an object, and a letter with an object is not of a piece with the effusions of Madame de Sévigné, Cowper, Scott, Fitzgerald and other men and women whose letters of genial satire, and casual play, and hints of depth below the surface people will read as long as they read anything'

Yet in the midst of all this work—"I do not call it Herculean because Hercules himself would not have been able to do it'—in the strain and stress of parliamentry work, his heart felt the glowing warmth of sympathy and benevolence. Gladstone was not only remarkable for his strength in body and soul, but was equally remarkable for his softness and tenderness. Though like a rough man he handled bills and parliamentary problems, yet the simplicity of a child, its innocence, its softness were visible in the grand old man in whatever he did or spoke. While immersed in the surging record of the Irish Question or Gorham Case, he struggled on to perch on Dante or Homer. That Gladstone should have felt such a lifelong enthusiasm for Dante is itself evidence that his heart was soft and tender. "Here are all the elements and interests," says John Morley writing about Gladstone's appreciation of Dante, "that lie about the roots of the life of a man and of the general civilization of the world. This ever memorable picture of the mind and heart of Europe in the great centuries of the Catholic age,—making heaven the home of the human soul, presenting the natural purposes of mankind in their universality of good and evil, exalted and mean, piteous and hateful, tragedy and farce, all commingled as a living whole,—was exactly fitted to the quality of a genius so rich and powerful as Mr. Gladstone's in the range of its spiritual intuitions, and in its masculine grasp of all the complex truths of mortal nature."

Gladstone was a very kind man—exceedingly kind. He had never the heart to say 'nay' to any request made to him. I have told you there never was a man more busy than Gladstone. But I also tell you that that there *never* was, nor ever will be a man more kind and condescending than he. His condescension to his

subordinates, and the freedom and affection with which he talked of them marks him out as a great man who understood—and acted up to it—that he owed a duty to his fellow-creatures. It is not seldom that man forgets that he has a duty towards his fellow-men. But Gladstone did not do so. He loved every man who had any sincerity in him and, let him say never the more senseless thing, still he respected him. " In such instances, even when the appeal came near to raving and Mr. Gladstone whenever he thought the writer's motives sincere, seems to have replied with patience, and at a length very different from pithy brevity." That is more than can be said of many others.

This busy man, pitiously immersed and floating in parliamentary records and Home Rule, readily turns to his groaning fellow-creatures, as readily as to the pages of Dante or Homer. ' One lady lays before him in superabundant detail a case where guardians insisted on the child of a mixed marriage being brought up as a Protestant, against the fervent wishes of a surviving parent, a Catholic.' ' Mr. Gladstone masters the circumstances'——what human heartedness and love of Justice !—' forms his judgment, elaborates it in a closely argued memorandum, and does not evade the responsibility of advising. In a nother of these instances the tragedy is reversed ; the horrid oppression is perpetrated on the Protestant mother by the Catholic father and here too it is Mr. Gladstone to whom the sufferer appeals for intercession." What a noble picture ! Here is indeed a heart ever awake to the touch of humanity.

Speaking about Gladstone's early parliamentary days, John Morley writes : " No other engagement ever interrupted his sedulous attendance on his mother every day, reading the bible to her, and telling the news about levees and drawing rooms. A great dinner at Sir Robert Peel's, and all the rest of his business and recreations." What an affectionate son ! The young man, of rising aspirations, dining at Sir Robert Peel's and making parliamentary speeches—reported fully in Newspapers—comes back with his heart full of joy, and—and throws himself at his mother's feet and recounts everything, not leaving out the slightest incident. What simplicity ! What affection ! In the mother's smile and in the mother's joy, the son—and what a son !—exults. And he reads the bible to her,—and certainly he would be very envious if any of his brothers should continue the same attendance upon his mother ! Ah ! Here is indeed a heart which is full of the milk of human ten-

derness. A heart which in spite of its varied ambitions stops in its headlong course, and pours itself into a mother! And when after long suffering his mother died 'amid tender care and mournful regrets, her youngest son was a devoted nurse, her loss struck him keenly, but with a *sense full of consolations of the faith*'—Mark these words, full of consolations of the faith! He writes to Gaskell how deeply and thoroughly her character was imbued with love; with what strong and searching process of bodily affliction she was assimilated in mind and heart to her Redeemer; how above all other things she sighed for the advancement of His Kingdom on earth; how few mortals sufferred more pain or more faithfully recognised it as one of the instruments by which God is pleased to forward that restoring process for which we are placed on earth.' Noble words of a noble son! How different from many of our young men who, ere they emerge out of the University with two letters B and A sticking to their names, learn to hold their necks so stiff and erect that mother and sister can seldom rise up to their eyes—and surely never to their heads! Nay, if worn with age and poorly dressed, our educated friends—educated, alas! so far as B and A are after their names—even try to get over the questions of their companions like—who is that?—Is it your mother? What a difference, as in all things there is, between this Gladstone and our friends! Tender-hearted, simple-minded, God's own and favourite Gladstone! With a great and almost blind and childlike, nay, what would appear to our educated friends, almost foolish faith in God!—but of this hereafter.

And then Gladstone's condescension to his subordinates and his deference to his colleagues! It is here that the greatness of his heart appears. With him rested the great authority that made the people bend before him—it was his breath that set the Government in motion—but still he yielded to the wishes of the others. No 'I know it better Sir,' or 'Mind your own business Sir,' with him. It is true there was none who was endued with more will-power or tenacity of purpose. But still he had a milder way of gaining his end. Not with a rough grunt displaying that authority which Shakespeare describes as 'little brief,' over his subordinates, but mildly, unconsciously he convinced his colleagues of the immaturity of their plans and slowly led them on by argument, even like a father who uses mild reproof against the cherished yet bad desire of a dashing son. This is what Mr. Stansfeld writes of Gladstone's great deference to his colleagues :—

"Mr. Gladstone's conduct in the Cabinet was very curious. When I first joined in 1871, I naturally thought that his position was so commanding, that he would be able to say, 'This is my policy: accept it or not as you like.' But he did not. He was always profuse in his expressions of respect for the Cabinet. There was a wonderful combination in Mr. Gladstone of imperiousness and deference. In the Cabinet he would assume that he was nothing. I thought he should have said, 'This is my policy. What do you think of it?' and then have fought it out until they had come to an agreement. He always tried to lead them on by unconscious steps to his own conclusions." This deference to his colleagues shows that Gladstone's heart was exceedingly tender and good. He was a sincere man, and *sincere* is an epithet which not ten men in the world could deserve now. The earnestness and the openness with which he expressed his opinions bear witness to the liberality of his mind. No person was his enemy. He loved all; he respected all,regardless of the tailor-derived dignity! Of one of the subordinate ministers Mr. Gladstone writes to Lord Granville: 'He has great talent, and is a most pertinacious worker, with a good deal of experience and widely dispersed knowledge of public affairs. But he is somewhat angular, and better adapted for doing business within a defined province of his own than in common stock or partnership with others.' Some one else is 'a sensitive man, given beyond most men to speak out his innermost and perhaps unformed thoughts, and thereby to put himself at a disadvantage.' Another public servant is 'not unmanageable, but he needs to be managed.'

These free opinions given so openly plainly show the interest Gladstone took in them. One who cares not for you will never speak about you. Always believe this. Gladstone would never have said all this, had he not taken a keen interest in these rising men. Now and then he has to rebuke a member or two, but he does that very mildly. Here is the way in which he called defaulters to their duty:

'The Chancellor of the Exchequer thinks he has some reason to complain of your having quitted London on Thursday without any prior communication with him or Glyn, four days before the budget. I have heard with regret that the state of your health has compelled you to spend your vacation abroad; but scarce even a direct medical order, and certainly in my opinion nothing less could render such an example innocent in its effects as is set by a departure from London under such circumstances. Although it

has been a great pleasure to me to admit and recognise your parliamentary services and distinctions, and though I have always thought your accession to the Government an acquisition of great value, I must frankly avow my opinion that it is hardly possible for the Chancellor of Exchequer to discharge his duties without your constant and sedulous co-operation, or for the official corps in general to avoid suffering, if the members of it make themselves the judges of the question when and under what circumstances their absence may be permitted during the sittings of the House?'

And here we see Gladstone at his best. The mildness, the tenderness he has! The language he uses, the kindness, the almost child-like simplicity of it, yet the gentle rebuke it carries with it! He was never proud, never arrogant, but always condescending and familiar, yet a grim earnest fighter against bad examples. Be it his greatest friend or nearest relation he *will* put a stop to it? That is the one purpose he lived and strived for—to say to all sorts of carelessness and corruption, 'your days are done on earth. You must be off—if of your own accord, well and good. If not have it here——' and what tongue and pen could do, was never wanting! We give one more example.

'I am led to believe by your absence from the division yesterday, that there may not be a clear understanding between us as to the obligations of members of the Government on these occasions. Yesterday gave occasion of much incovenience on account of the entertainment at Windsor, but all the members of the Government who could be expected to attend voted in the division except yourself. I can say from my own recollection that as far as regards political affairs, the Sovereign always permits the claim of the House of Commons to prevail?'

How mild, how touching, how subtle! It will creep chill into the heart of the member, and will bind him in eternal sympathy with and admiration for the writer. But how few seem to understand this golden rule by which they can win the hearts of thousands! Be good, be sincere—and you are blest. The narrow prejudices and vile passions should never be allowed to play with the great work you have in mind. You must learn to be large-hearted—learn to love your fellow men—and must study patience and forgiveness.

S. R.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE SRI VAISHNAVA FAITH IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

(*Concluded from our last number*).

Section C.

THE LATER ALVÂRS.

IF it is remembered that Nammâḻvâr lived in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D., Tirumangai, (1) Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi, Kulas'ēkhara, Âṇḍâḷ, and Periyâḻvâr who came next to him must have perhaps lived in the time of Âḷavandâr. Attracted by the teachings of this great Vis'ishṭâdvaita leader, these Âḻvârs seem to have mustered at S'rîrangam studying, working at and writing out their works; they must have also been comparing their works, as is evidenced by the parallel quotations, which cannot be otherwise easily explained.(2)

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(1) Mañgaiyarkôn or Âlinâḍan, two other names of Tirumangai Âḻvâr seem to indicate that he belongs to Âlinâḍu and was born in Mangai (the modern Mangainallûr?). The suffix *kôn* does not warrant us to infer that he was a petty chief. Compare Villiputtûr-kôn, &c.

(2) மானமருமென்னோக்கிவைதேவி விண்ணப்பம்.

—Periyâḻvâr.

மானமருமென்னோக்கிவைதேவியின் துணையா
கானமரும் கல்லதர்போய் காடுறைந்தான் காணேடீ.

—Tirumangai.

கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணிணை களிக்குமாறே.

—Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi.

கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணிணையாரக்களித்து.

—Nammâḻvâr.

மலையையெடுத்துக் கல்மாரிகாத்து.

—Nammâḻvâr.

கல்லெடுத்துக் கல்மாரிகாத்தாயென்றும்.

—Tirumangai.

ஆவியேயாரமுதே என்னையாளுடைத்
தூவியம்புள்ளுடையாய்.

—Nammâḻvâr.

ஆவியேயமுதேயென நினைந்துருகி.

—Tirumangai.

மெய்யனாகும் விரும்பித் தொழுவார்க்கெல்லாம்
பொய்யனாகும் புறமே தொழுவார்க்கெல்லாம்.

—Nammâḻvâr.

Such instances can be quoted in any number ; but those given in the foot-note will suffice for our purposes. From these we can see the great influence Nammâḻvâr had on the junior Âḻvârs and also how these latter influenced one another. The striking similarity between the passages from the various Âḻvârs argues their contemporaneity.

In addition to copying from one another the Âḻvârs have also borrowed(1) whole sale from the Dêvâram hymns.(2) Toṇḍaraḍip-

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மெய்யர்க்கே மெய்யனாகும் விதியிலா வென்னைப்போல
பொய்யர்க்கே பொய்யனாகும் புட்கொடியுடையகோமான்.

—Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi.

சுரும்பமர்சோலை சூழ்ந்தவரங்கமாகோயில் கொண்ட
கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணிணை களிக்குமாறே.

திருக்குறுந்தாண்டகம், Stz. 13.—Tirumungai.

சுரும்பமர்சோலை சூழ்ந்தவரங்கமாகோயில் கொண்ட
கரும்பினைக் கண்டுகொண்டென் கண்ணிணை களிக்குமாறே.

திருமாலை, Stz. 17.—Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi.

பதினாறுமாயிரவர்தேவிமார் பணிசெய்ய.

—Periyâḻvâr.

பதினாறுமாயிரவர்தேவிமார் பார்த்திருப்ப.

—Âṇḍâḷ.

கன்னிநன்மாமதிள் சூழ்தரும்பொழிற்காவிரித் தென்னரங்கம்.

—Periyâḻvâr.

கன்னிநன்மாமதிள் புடைசூழ்கணபுரத்தென் கருமணியே.

—Kulas'êkhara.

(1) I say borrowed from, because we have already shown that one of the earliest Âḻvârs, Nammâḻvâr, belonged to the early part of the 11th Century A.D., and hence was long posterior to the Nâyanmârs. Therefore the later Âḷvârs must evidently have borrowed from the Dêvâram.

(2) For compare :—

கள்ளனேன் கள்ளத்தொண்டாய்க் காலத்தைக் கழித்துப்போக்கித்
தெள்ளியேனாகி நின்றுதேடினே னாடிக்கண்டேன்
உள்குவாருள்கிற்றெல்லா முடனிருந்தறிதி யென்று
வெள்கினேன் வெள்கினானும் விலாவிறச் சிரித்திட்டேனே.

தேவாரம், P. 1148, Pushparatha Chettiar's Edition.

உள்ளத்தேயுறையும்மாலை உள்ளுவா னுணர்வொன்றில்லா
கள்ளத்தேன் நானும் தொண்டாய்த்தொண்டுக்கேகோலம்பூண்டேன்
உள்குவாருள்கிற் றெல்லாமுடனிருந்தறிதி யென்று
வெள்கிப்போயென்னுள்ளே நான் விலாவிறச் சிரித்திட்டேனே.

திருமாலை—Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi.

வென்றிலேன் புலன்களைந்தும் வென்றவர் வீளாகந்தன்னுட்
சென்றிலே னாதலாலே செந்நெறியாதற்குஞ் சேயே
னின்றுளே துளும்புகின்றே னீசனேயோ
வின்றுளே னாளையில்லே னென்சென் செய்வான் தோன்றினேனே.

Dêvâram, P. 1151.

podi uses the passage 'என்செய்வான் தோன்றினேனே' in his Tirumâlai. (Cf. Dêvâram p. 1151).

It might be noted that great importance was attached by the earlier Âchâryas to the Tiruvâymoḻi of Nammâḻvâr. They have not spoken very much or very frequently of such works as the Tirunedundâṇḍagam of Tirumangai, &c. The works of the subsequent Âḻvârs received great consideration only in the days of Bhaṭṭar, the illustrious successor of Râmânuja. He is reported to have reproved a brâhman when the latter reported to him (Bhaṭṭar) that he informed the powerful Vêdântin of the West country that Bhaṭṭar knew all the S'âstras. Bhaṭṭar would appear to have pointed out to this brâhman that he could have better represented his as knowing Tirumangai's Tirunedundâṇḍagam. Never throughout the life of Râmânuja do we see him devoting his attention to any other Tamil work than the Tiruvâymoḻi. Again also we see that, being older, Tiruvâymoḻi has received many commentaries, some of them from the earliest of Râmânuja's disciples. The works of the other Âḻvârs have taken a longer time to be commented upon. All these go to point out that the works of other Âḻvârs were almost contemporaneous with Râmânuja's time and had not received the sanctity that attaches generally to old works. Some of them had no doubt been appreciated as standard works and were recited on important occasions.

A strange and apparently fanciful criterion of the correctness of our hypothesis is afforded by the old names of the various streets of the town of S'rîrangam. The seven streets are named respectively Dharma-varma's, Râjamahêndra's, Kulas'êkhara's, Âlinâḍan's, Tiruvikraman's (or Akaḷankan's), the Mâḍamâḷigai-s'êr-tiruvîdi, and the Aḍaiyavaḷaindân.(1)

வென்றியே வேண்டி வீழ்பொருட் கிரங்கிவேற்கணார் கலவியேகருதி
நின்றவாநில்லா நெஞ்சினையுடையே னென்செய்கேன்
நெடுவிசும்பணவும், &c."

(1) மாடமாளிகை சூழ்திருவீதியும்
மன்னுசேர் திருவிக்கிரமன் திருவீதியும்
ஆடல்மாரனகளங்கன் திருவீதியும்
ஆலிநாட னமர்ந்துறைவீதியும்
கூடல்வாழ் குலசேகரன் வீதியும்
குவவுராசமசேந்திரன் வீதியும்
தேடுதன்மவன்மாவின் வீதியும்
தென்னரங்கர் திருவாவரணமே

யதீந்திர பிரவணம், P. 34.

In this list we do not know who Dharmavarman was. Rajâmahêndra we know is the Chôḷa king who reigned a little before Kulôttunga I. The 'Koviloḻugu' says that he paved the second round of the temple with stones and built some Maṇḍapas. This is corroborated by Vikramachôḻan-ulâ which describes an unnamed king as

'மாப்பழநூல்(1) பாடரவத் தென்னரங்கமேயாற்குப்பன்
மணியாலாடரவப்பாயலமைத் தோனும்.'

This king, I take to be Râjamahêndra. Then Kulas'êkhara who extended the buildings of the temple is identified with the Âḻvâr of the same name by the Guruparamparas. Âlinâḍan is a surname of Tirumangai who was born in Tiruvâli. Thus we see that Kulas'êkhara and Tirumangai have come after Râjamahêndra in their benefactions to the temple. Akaḷankan is another name of Vikrama Chôḷa, the son and successor of Kulôttunga I. He is described in the Vaishṇava chronicles to have been a good Vaishṇava. His extension of the temple comes immediately after those of Kulas'êkhara and Âlinâḍan. This gives us a major and minor limit for the period of these two Âḻvârs. The Mâḍamâḷigai-s'êr-tiruvîdi (the modern Chitravîdhi) was, according to the 'Koviloḻugu' constructed by "எம்மண்டலமுங்கொண்டு கோயில் பொன்மேய்ந்த பெருமாள் சுந்திரபாண்டிய தேவர்." This is Jaṭâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya whose S'rîrangam inscription has been edited in Ep. Ind. Vol. III., pages 7—17. The magnificent Gopura of the East street bears a Pâṇḍya emblem and the legend 'Kaliyuga Râman below it. Dr. Hultzsch has identified Kaliyuga Râman with Sundara Pâṇḍya(2)

Another important evidence of these Âḻvârs having existed at a later period, is furnished by the forms in which their works are written. For instance, the aggregate of Periyâḻvâr's work might be justly called an enlarged form of "Piḷḷaittamiḻ' (3) This species

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(1) பழநூல் here means the Vêdas.

(2) An. Rep. 1893, p. 5.

(3) This a poem celebrating the different stages in the infancy and childhood of a hero or a heroine comprised in ten parts.

"காப்பொடு செங்கீரை தால் சப்பாணி
யாப்புறு முத்தம் வருகவென் றன்முத
லம்புலி சிற்றில் சிறுபறை சிறுதேர்
நம்பிய மற்றவை சுற்றததளவென
விளம்பினர் தெய்வநலம்பெறு புலவர்."

பன்னிருபாட்டியல், இனவியல், 2, பிள்ளைப்பாட்டு சூத்திரம் 8.

of work seems to be unknown to early grammars. The first grammar that notices such a kind of composition is Paṉṉiru-Pâṭṭiyal. Hence Pêriyâḻvâr who has written this must be put down to be a man of comparatively modern date.

The major limit for Tirumangai is obtained from his decade on Paramês'vara-viṉṉagaram. In this he extols a Pallava prince by describing his various achievements (1). From these descriptions we can clearly see that he alludes to Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The Udayêndram plates affirm that Nandivarman Pallavamalla's General, Udayachandra, gained victories over the Dramiḷa confederates, at Nimbavana, Chûtavana, Sankaragrâma, Nellûr, Nelvêli, S'ûravaḻundûr, &c. The Pâṇḍya king was defeated at Maṉṉaikkuḍi. The decade already referred to and extracts from which have already been quoted mention the battles of Maṉṉai over the Pâṇḍyas and of Nelvêli. The name of Nandivarman forms part of the name of the temple at Nâthankôyil near Kumbhakôṇan sung by Tirumangai under the name of Nandipura-viṉṉagaram.

The legend regarding the wrangle between Tirumangai and Jñânasumbandhar is purely a myth. For it is a well-known fact that the latter lived in the middle of the seventh century A. D. and we have seen that the Âḻvâr came some four centuries after him. The legend certainly owes its origin to the desire among his votaries, to raise Tirumangai, in their estimation.

The works of Âṇḍâḷ bear a close resemblance to Tiruvâchakam. Toṇḍaraḍippoḍi's Tiruppaḻḻiyeḻuchchi is almost similar to that of Mâṇikkavâchakar's that we can trace the words and thoughts to the older author. These are things that one has to judge for himself by a comparative study of both works. To draw parallels would take up too much space and time.

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(1) (*a*) பல்லவன் வில்லவனென்றுலகிற பலராய்ப்பலவேந்தர் வணங்கு கழல் பல்லவன் மல்லையர்கோன் பணிந்த பரமேச்சுர விண்ணகரமதுவே.

(*b*) தென்னவனைம்முனையிற் செருவில் திறல்வாட்டிய திண்சிலையோன் பார்மன்னு பல்லவர்கோன்.

(*c*) நிரந்தவர் மண்ணையில் புண்ணுகர்வேல் நெடுவாயிலுகச் செருவில் முனநாள் பரந்தவன் பல்லவர்கோன்.

(*d*) உலகுடைமன்னவன் தென்னவனைக் கன்னிமாமதிள்சூழ் கருவூர்வெருவ பலபடை சாயவென்றான்.

(*e*) விடைத்திறல் வில்லவன் நென்மெலியில் வெருவச்செருவேல் வலங்கைப்பிடித்த படைத்திறற் பல்லவர்கோன்,

From all that has been said above it would be seen that Tondaradippodi, Tirumangai, Ândâl, and Periyâlvâr must have lived together and at the time when Âlavandâr retired to S'rîrangam.

Section D.

THE EARLIER ÂLVÂRS.

When we come to fix the age of the so-called Mudalâlvârs' Poygai, Bhûtam and Pêyâlvâr, we are beset with a lot of difficulties as only very meagre data are available from tradition and from their works. All that we know is that they were contemporaries of a Pallava prince of Kañchi. One of them Bhûtattâlvâr has sung about Kadanmallai (the modern Mahâbalipuram). We learn through epigraphical records that Mâmallapuram(1) came into existence in the days of Mâmalla (Nrisimhavarman I.) This Pallava king lived in the 7th century A.D. This gives us a major limit for the age of these Âlvârs.

Again Tirumalis'ai, the contemporary of the Mudalâlvârs incorporates a distich of Kural in one of his verses which runs thus :—

வித்துமிடவேண்டுங்கொல்லோ விடையடர்த்த
பத்தியுழவன் பழம்புனத்து—மொய்த்தெழுந்த
கார்மேகமன்ன கருமால்திருமேனி
நீர்வானம் காட்டும் நிகழ்ந்து.

and the Kural quoted here is

வித்துமிடல்வேண்டுங்கொல்லோ விருந்தோம்பி
மிச்சின்மிசைவான்புலம்.

Chap. IX. Stz. 5—விருந்தோம்பல்.

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(1) We know from the Guruparamparas that Periyâlvâr and Ândâl were contemporaries of a Pândya king called S'rîvallabha. There is a S'rîvallavan alias Avanipas'îkharan mentioned in one of the inscription belonging to S'ittannavâs'al (in the Pudukottah state). From the alphabet of this record, it might be judged to belong to about the 10th or 11th century A. D. The other S'rîvallabhas known to epigraphy are later day men and we cannot at present identify who the contemporary of Periyâlvâr was. Hence evidence from their works in preference to the traditional history is sought for.

(1) That this was a very important maritime centre is clearly seen from the following :—

(1) கலங்கவியங்கும் மல்லை.

—பெரிய திருமொழி.

(2) வங்கத்தால் மாமணிவந்துந்து முந்நீர் மல்லையாய்.

—Tirunedundândagam.

They might have flourished in the Ganga-Pallva period, for the kings of this dynasty distinctly call themselves devout worshippers of Vishnu : perhaps one of these was the patron, as is claimed in the Guruparamparas, of Tirumalis'ai.

To identify Poygaiyâḻvâr with Poygaiyâr, the author of Kaḷavaḷi, as some are attempting to do, seems to be utterly unwarranted. Poygaiyâr is not a proper name, but a common name, Poygai being the name of a district adjoining Uṟaiyûr. This district is very frequently mentioned in inscriptions. Both these authors seem to be natives of this district. From the fact that both bear identical names we cannot jump to the conclusion, that they are identical, in the absence of clear proofs. If such an identification were to be allowed, we could go the length of identifying Pêyâḻvâr with Kâraikkâl-Ammaiyâr, who also called herself Pêy ; perhaps according to those that would have the two Poygaiyârs to be identical, Pêy as a woman sang the praises of S'iva and as a man those of Vishṇu.

From what has been said above it appears certain that the time of Bhûtam, Pêy Poygai and Tirumaḷis'aiyâḻvârs was sufficiently early and hence even the earliest of the Gurupramparas, the Divyasûricharitam, has to ascribe a mythical origin to these persons ; they lived most probably during the Ganga-Pallava period.

Section E.

LATER ÂCHÂRYAS.

I shall now glance hurriedly through the subsequent periods of S'rîvaishṇava history, touching only the most salient features.

We have seen that Parâsara Bhaṭṭar, son of Kûrattâḻvâr, succeeded Râmânuja. The chief event of his life is the conversion of a famous Vêdântin named Mâdhava, a native of some place near S'ringêri, who took holy orders under the name of Nañjîyar. He quickly mastered the Drâviḍa Vêdas (the Nâlâyira-prabandham) and wrote a commentary on the Tiruvâymoḷi. After the death of Bhaṭṭar(1) which is believed to have taken placc in his 28th year,

(1) There is a belief among the Srivaishṇavas that Bhaṭṭar died very early. Relying on this, Aṇṇâ-appangâr in his "Paḷanaḍai-Viḷakkam" says that he died in his 28th year (p. 45). On questioning critically some learned S'rîvaishṇavas about the length of the life of Bhaṭṭar, I got very conflicting opinions, none of which put down his death at so early an age as 28. Several of them said he must have lived to nearly 60 years, without of course giving any reasons for the statement.

Nañjîyar succeeded him in the pontifical seat. He was succeeded in his turn by Nambûr Varadarâjar, under the name of Nambiḷḷai; subsequently he was conferred the title of "Lôkâchârya.'

About 1175 S' (1253 A.D.,) *i.e.*, about the time of Nambiḷḷai, a memorable event took place in the history of the S'rîrangam temple. Jatâvarman Sundara Pâṇḍya, who was then rising in power in the Pâṇḍya Kingdom and making extensive conquests in the North (Cuttack, &c.), covered the central shrine of S'rîrangam with gold, and made a large number of other substantial gifts. He would also appear to have presented the temple several times with large quantities of gold which he weighed himself against.(1)

Lôkâchârya was succeeded by Piḷḷailôkâchârya, who was a contemporary of the illustrious Vêdânta-Dês'ika and S'rutaprakâs'ikâchârya. The most important event of this period is the invasion of the south by the Muhammadans. The story of their destructive march is recorded in a very pathetic way in the S'ri-vaishṇava chronicles. The peaceful Brâhmaṇas of S'rîrangam had taken out their God Ranganâtha in a procession and had set him up in a Maṇḍapa near the Coleroon, where Piḷḷailôkâchârya lectured on the Vis'ishṭâdvaita philosophy. The shades of evening had already begun to fall when they heard that the Mussulman cavalry was advancing. Several of the assembled, panic-stricken, began to flee for their dear lives. Old S'rutaprakâs'ikâchârya entrusted his "S'rutaprakâs'ika" and his two little sons to the charge of Vêdânta-Dês'ika, enjoining upon him to save them from the expected general destruction. The old and the infirm, the devout and the brave were the only ones to stop where they were. The ruthless horde came on and entered the assembly and cut off all of them. Then the Mussulmans proceeded to the town, which offered some resistance before yielding to the barbarians. No sooner had the town yielded than the invaders most mercilessly hacked 12000 men, women and children to pieces and occupied S'rîrangam. The poor S'rîvaishṇavas that escaped this general slaughter, settled down in the adjacent villages and remained watching the havocs of these modern Vandals.

Happlily for the S'rîvaishṇavas and for S'rîrangam, the Vijayanagara Kingdom had just then begun to acquire military power. A governor was appointed at S'eñji (Gingi) by the then reigning sovereign, Kampaṇṇa Uḍaiyar; this officer was called Gôppaṇârya.

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(1) Ep. Ind. Vol. III., p. 7.

He was a brahman of S'rîvaishṇava persuasions. To him the miserable remnants of the S rîvaishṇavas appealed for help to which he readily responded. The Mussulmans were then completely driven out by him from the South.

The poor image of Ranganâtha of S'rîrangam had had meanwhile very strange vicissitudes. It was carried first to Tirupati where it remained for some years and from there removed to S'ingavaram (near S'eñji) by Gôppaṇarya, where it remained for nearly three years. Eventually, after the expulsion of the Mussulmans from S'rîrangam it was reinstalled in the year 1293 S' (1371 A.D.) by Gôppaṇârya. For this memorable service of his(1) Vêdânta-Dês'ika immortalised him by singing two fine S'lôkas in his praise, which are engraved on the East wall of the first prâkâra of the Ranganâtha temple (2).

In this eventful year (1293 S') was born the great Tengalai leader Maṇavâḷamâmunigaḷ. He gave the current of opinion which was steadily flowing saturated with the teachings of Vêdânta-Dês'ika,

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(1) Doḍḍâchârya in his Vêdânta-Dês'ika Vaibhavaprakâsika records this event thus :—

जित्वा तुलुष्कान् भुवि गोप्पणेंद्रो रङ्गाधिपं स्थापितवान् स्वदेशे ।
इत्येवमाकर्ण्यगुरुः कवींद्रोहृष्टोभवद्यस्तमहं प्रपद्ये ॥

(2) आनीयानीलश्रृंगद्युतिरचितजगद्रञ्जनादञ्जनाद्रे-
श्चेञ्च्यामाराध्यकञ्चित् समयमथनिहत्योद्धनुष्कां स्तुलुष्कान् ।
लक्ष्मीक्ष्माभ्यामुभाभ्यां सहनिजनगरेस्थापयन् रंगनाथं
सम्यग्वर्य्यां सपर्य्याम् पुनरकृतयशोदर्प्पणो गोप्पणार्य्यः ॥ १ ॥
विश्वेशं रंगराजं वृषभगिरितटात् गोपणः क्षोणिदेवो
नीत्वास्वां राजधानीन्निजबलनिहतोत्सिक्त तौलुष्कसैन्यः ।
कृत्वाश्रीरंगभूमिम् कृतयुगसहितान्तन्तु लक्ष्मीमहीभ्यां
संस्थाप्यास्यां सरोजोद्भवइवकुरुत साधुचर्य्यां सपर्य्याम् ॥ २ ॥

Kôyiloḷugu ; Vaibhavaprakâs'ika p. 121 & Yatîndrapravaṇam, p. 26.

The Maṇipravâḷa commentary of the "Vaibhavaprakâs'ikâ" asserts that Vêdânta-Dês'ika was born in 1191 S' (1269 A.D.) and lived to write the praises of Gôppanâraya, who reinstated the Ranganâtha image at S'rîrangam in 1293 S' बन्धुप्रियेशकाब्दे of the inscription, *i.e.*, 1371 A.D.). This would assign to him an age of over 102 years. The same authority also asserts that he died in S' 1293. These statements require more minute examination. As regards the date of Gôppaṇârya's inscription there is absolutely no doubt. It has been edited in quite a masterly way by Dr. Hultzsch in Ep. Ind. Vol. VI. pp. 322—330.

a new turn. He effected many conversions of Vaḍagalais to the Tengalai faith. It was also in his days that the seeds of dissension between the two rival sects, was sown. Maṇavâḷamâmunigaḷ lived to the old age of 73 years. A Mahâvali Vâṇâdarâyan is claimed to have been one of his contemporaries. That there was a family of Mâvalivâṇâdharâyars in the Madura District in the 15th Century S'aka, is undisputed.(1) We do not hear about this family of chiefs before this period in the Southern Districts.

T. A. GOPINATHA ROW.

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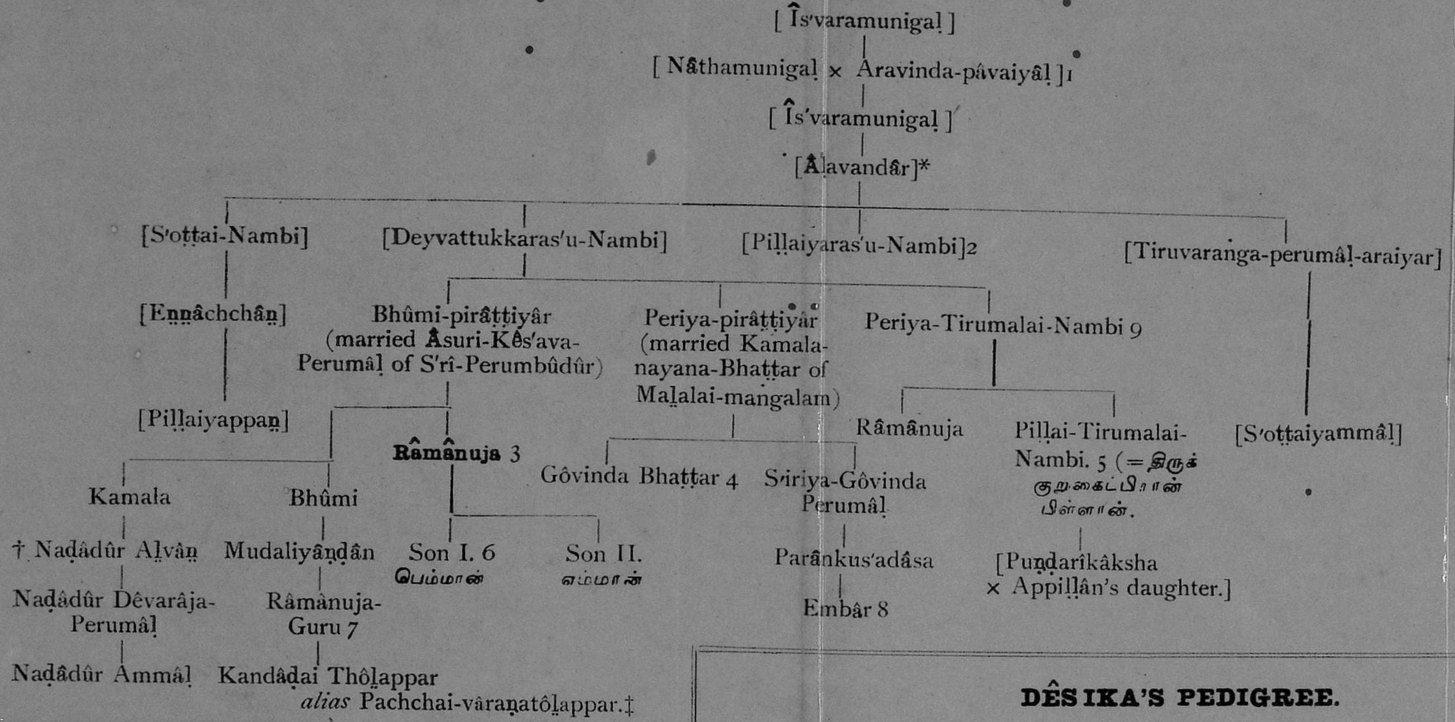
(1) Epigraphist's An. Rep. for 1902. Nos. 585 and 587 of 1902 are dated 1452 and 1454 S'aka respectively in the reign of Sundarattôḷuḍaiya Mâvalivâṇâdharâyar. These were found in the S'iva temple at Kâḷaiyârkôyil in the S'ivaganga Zemindary. Three other inscriptions belonging to Tiruppullâṇi are dated in 1440 1455, and 1456 S' respectively. An. Rep. 1904.

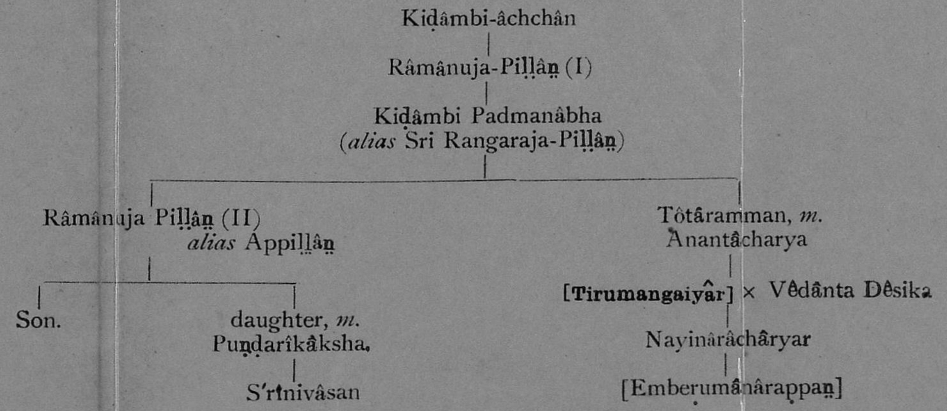
Table I.

RÂMÂNUJA'S PEDIGREE.



1. Those enclosed in square brackets are derived from the மூவாரப்படி குருபரம்பரை of the 3rd Brahmatantra-Svatantra-Svâmigal: Aravindappâvaiyal was the daughter of Vangipurattâchchi.
2. Performed his father's funerals.
3. The Bhâshyakara.
4. He was called, when he was a S'aiva living at Kâlahasti, Ullangai-Koṉarnda-Nâyaṉâr and after conversion to Vaishṇavaism, known as Embâr.
5. He is otherwise known as Pillâṉ or Tiru-kurugai-pirâṉ-Pillâṉ and is said to be the 'spiritual son' of the Bhâshya-kâra commented on the Tiruvâymoli of Nammâlvâr.
6. In one manuscript, Râmânuja is said to have had 2 sons before he took the Sanyâs y-âs'rmam.
7. *Alias* Kandâḍai-Âṇḍân set up the image of Râmânuja in S'ri Perumbûdûr.
8. The ancestor of the family of Embârs.
9. His wife's brother was Kiḍâmbi-âchchâṉ.

DÊSIKA'S PEDIGREE.



* There is little room to believe that Râmânuja was the grandson of Âlavandar. If the statement were true, it is strange that the latter was unable to recognise his grandson when he went to meet him at Kâñchi. The Tengalai versions of the Guruparampara do not mention any such relationship as existing between the two.

† *Alias* Varadavishṇu.

‡ Ancestor of the family of Kôyil Aṇṇans.

Table II.

SUCCESSION LIST OF RÂMÂNUJÎYA ÂCHÂRYAS.

1 Nammâḻvâr

2 Madhurakaviyâḻvâr (disciple of 1)

3 Parânkus'adâsa (do. of 2)

4 Nâthamuni (do. of 3)

5 Is'varamuni (son of 4)

6 Âḻavandâr (do. of 5)

8 Periya Nambi *alias* Mahâpûrṇa (disciple of 6)

9 Tirukkôṭṭiyûr Nambi *alias* Gôshṭhipûrṇa (disciple of 6)

10 Tirumâlai-yâṇḍân (disciple of 6)

7 **Râmânuja** *alias* S'ri-Bhâshyakâra, Uḍaiyavar, Emberumânâr, Yatândra or Yati-râja, and Iḷaiyâḻ-vâr, (disciple of 6 indirectly and of 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 directly)

11 Tirukkachchi-nambi *alias* Gajêndradâsa, Kâñchîpûrṇa Author of Varada-râjasthava.

12 Periya Tiru-malainambi (disciple of 6 and maternal uncle of 7)

13 Tiruvarangap-perumâḷ Araiyar (son of 6 and disciple of the same)

37 Kiḍâmbi Âchchân *alias* Praṇa-târthihara, (disciple of 7)

39 K. Râmânuja Piḷḷân (son of 37, disciple of 46)

40 K. Padmanâbha *alias* S'ri Rangarâja Piḷḷan) (son of 39)

41 Râmânuja Piḷḷân (son of 40) (Appiḷḷân)

Son

Daughter

Tôtâramman (daughter of 40) × Anantâchârya

42 Vêdânta Dês'ika (son of the above)

38 Tirukkurugaip-pirânpiḷḷâṉ (disciple and spiritual son of 7)

14 Kûrattâḻvân *alias* S'rîvatsa-chihnamis'ra, (disciple of and assistant to Râmânuja in getting up the S'ri Bhâshya) × Âṇḍâḷ

15 S'ri Parâs'ara Bhaṭṭar I. or simply Bhaṭṭar (son of 14 and successor of 7) (studied under Embâr) *alias* Vêdântâchârya

16 Vêdântin *alias* Nañjîyar (Mâdhava) (disciple of 15, after being converted by the same)

17 Nambiḷḷai *alias* Nambûr Varadarâjar, Tirukkalikanṟidâsar, Lôkâchârya (disciple of 16)

29 S'ri Râma Piḷḷai (son of 14)

30 Naduvil-Tiruvîdi-piḷḷai *alias* Vâgvijaya-Bhaṭṭar, (son of 29)

31 S'ri Vêdavyâsa Bhaṭṭar, better known as Sudars'anâchârya and S rutaprakâs'ikâ-chârya (son of 30)

32 Vêdâchârya (உத்தண்டபட்டர்)

33 Parâsara Bhaṭṭar II.

34 Mudaliyâṇḍân *alias* Dâs'arathi, (sister's son of 7 and disciple of the same)

35 Naḍâdûr Âḻvân *alias* Varada-vishṇu, (disciple and sister's son of 7)

45 N. Dêvarâja Perumâḷ (son of 35)

46 Naḍâdûr Ammâḷ (son of 45 and disciple of 36)

36 Engaḷâḻvân *alias* Yati-s'êkhara-bhârati, (disciple of 7, a S'ôḻiya brâhman)

46 Naḍâdûr Ammâḷ

39 Kiḍâmbi-Râmânuja-Piḷḷân

42 Vêdântâcharya *alias* Dês'ikâcharya, Vênkaṭanâthârya, Tûppil-piḷḷai, Sarvatantrasvatantra, and Kavitârkîkâsimha

43 Nainârâchârya (son of 42)

44 Brahmatantra-Jîyar (disciple of 42)

18 Piḷḷai-Lôkâchârya (son of 48, disciple and successor of 17)

47 Aḻagiyamaṇa-vâḷapperumâḷ Nâyanâr I (son of 48)

48 Vaḍakku Tiruvîdi-piḷḷai

49 Periyavâchchân-piḷḷai

50 Piṉbaḻagiya Jîyar

19 Tirumalaiyâḻvâr (son of 51, disciple and successor of 52) *alias* Tiruvâymoḻip-piḷḷai, S'ris'ailanâtha

51 Aṇṇaṉ

52 Kûrakulôttama dâsar *alias* Udâra

53 Kollikâvaladâsar (disciple of 18) *alias* Kôṭṭûr Aḻagiya-maṇavâḷan Pillai

20 Aḻagiyamaṇavâḷa Perumâḷ Nâyanâr, II *alias* Saumya-jâmâtrimuni, Maṇavâḷamâ-muni, Yatîndrapravaṇar, (grandson of 53)

Dêva Perumâḷ (sister's son of, and adopted by 19)

54 Sri-ranganâchchiyâr × Tirunâvîruḍaiyân Tâtâraṇṇaraiyar

20 Aḻagiyamaṇavâḷapperumâḷ Nâyanâr III

55 Nammayyan Râmânujan (son of 20)

Jîyar Nâyanâr (son of 55)

Periyâḻvâr (son of 55)

21 Vânamâ-malai-Jîyar (disciple of 20)

22 Paravastu Bhaṭṭarpirân Jiyar (disciple of 20)

23 Periya-jîyar of Tirupati (disciple of 20)

24 Kôyil-kandâḍai Aṇṇan (disciple of 20)

25 Prativâdi Bhayankaram Aṇṇan (disciple of 20)

26 Erumbi Appâ (disciple of 20)

27 Appiḷḷai (disciple of 20)

28 Appiḷḷân (disciple of 20)

Table III.

THE PEDIGREE OF THE CHOḶA KINGS.

(Adapted from Dr. Hultzsch's S. I. I., Vol. III, Part II, pp.   )

- Vijayâlaya
  - Âditya
    - Parântaka I *alias* Vîranârâyaṇa and Madhurântaka (A.D. 906-07)
      - Râjâditya
      - Gaṇḍarâditya
        - Madhurântaka II
          - Gaṇḍarâditya II (author of Tiruvis'aippa)
      - Arimjaya
        - Parantaka II
          - Âditya II (Karikâla)
          - Kudavai *md.* Vallavaraiyar Vandyadêvar
          - Rajaraja I (985 A.D.)
            - Râjendrachôḷa I *alias* Gangaikoṇḍachôḷan (1011-12 A.D.)
              - Rajadhiraja (A.D. 1018)
              - Râjêndradeva (A.D. 1052)
                - Râjamahêndra
                - Madhurantaki *md.* Kulottunga I
              - Vîra Râjendra I (A.D. 1062-63)
                - Adhirâjendra
                - Daughter *md.* Vikramâditya (W. châ)
              - Ammangadeva × Rajaraja I. (E. châ)
                - Râjêndrachola II *alias* Kulôttunga I (A.D. 1070)
                  - Vikramachola (1118 A.D.)
                  - Chôḍa Ganga (Govr. of Vengi, 1084)
                  - Mummuḍichôḍa (Govr. of Vengi, 1077)
                  - Vîrachôḍa (Govr. of Vengi, 1078—8).
            - Kundavai *md.* Vimalâditya
              - Rajaraja I. (E. châ)

THE MADRAS TOBACCO INDUSTRY AND THE GOVERNMENT.

THE Madras Agricultural Department has just published a Bulletin on the methods of cultivating and curing tobacco practised by the growers around Dindigul. It was 15 years ago that Mr. Caine, Tobacco Expert, was deputed by Government to study this crop in that neighbourhood, report on the defects in the native methods, and suggest any improvements in them he could. The results of his investigations were embodied in Bulletin No. 4. It may be remarked *en passant* that Mr. Caine's experiments were not considered a success at that time by other experts. Local practices have changed considerably since then, and the variety which was at that time considered most suitable for cigar-leaf, *viz.*, the *oosi-kappal* has disappeared now.

Last year the attention of the Government was once more directed to the importance of placing this industry on a stable basis. The " Dindigul neighbourhood produces fine cigar-leaf tobacco, but it is capable of further improvement in every direction; the main defect being its unsuitability for a wrapper-leaf, for which purpose foreign leaf has to be imported. The leaf which comes to the market, moreover varies considerably in quality, even though produced under apparently quite similar conditions. The problem which the Government prepared to solve had two phases :—firstly, the defects caused by natural conditions, such as soil, climate, and water; and secondly, those which arise in the mechanical processes. They, however, chose to enquire into the latter first, probably because they had not a proper scientific staff to cope with the other aspect of the question. Accordingly an Agricultural Inspector was sent to study the local practices of cultivation, and Messrs. Spencer and Co.'s co-operation was secured in conducting curing experiments in their Cigar Factory at Dindigul.

The present bulletin is apparently an outcome of the Inspector's enquiries, and simply purports to be a revised edition of the previous publication on the subject.

The defects observed may be summed up as follows :—

(1) Wastage of manure by exposure.

(2) Non-manuring of seed-beds, and flooding them too much.

(3) Planting too closely.

(4) Insufficient hoeing.

(5) Ineffective suckering, and allowing the suckers to grow very large.

(6) Indiscriminate harvesting, *i.e.*, cutting mature and immature leaves simultaneously

(7) Injurious effect of too much sun in the curing process.

(8) Uneven drying

(9) Unregulated fermentation, and

(10) Careless and fraudulent sorting.

Valuable hints are given to obviate these. As regards the other measure taken by Government, we hope they will soon publish the results of those curing experiments. So far for the immediate interest caused by the publication, we shall now turn to the ultimate issues of the questions.

Striking an average of the total tobacco export trade for the 6 years beginning with 1898-99, we find that nearly 3⅓ million Rupees worth of tobacco is exported out of the Madras Presidency every year. Of this two-thirds is in the form of unmanufactured tobacco, and the remaining third goes out as cigar. Again 70 p. c. of the total goes by coast to Burma and Bengal; and 30 p. c. by sea to Straits Settlements, United Knigdom, and Ceylon chiefly. Nearly 90 p. c. of the coasting trade is absorbed by Cocanada, which comes in for about 4 p. c. of the sea-borne trade also. The bulk of the exports to Straits Settlements issues out of Negapatam, which passes on 85 p. c. of the raw tobacco, and 24 p. c. of the cigars. Last come Tuticorin and Madras dividing between themselves equally the remaining 72 p. c. of the foreign cigar trade, which is mainly with Great Britain, and, to some extent, with Cape Colony and Natal. To put the matter in another form, 8 lakhs worth of cigars goes by sea, of which about 6 lakhs, or about 18 p. c. of the total trade is divided between Madras and Tuticorin.

Taking the acreage under tobacco, the average for the 5 years ending with 1902-03, was 116 thousand acres, distributed as below:—

Thousands	45	—Vizagapatam, Godavari, and Kistna.
"	4	—Nellore.
"	19	—Ceded Districts.
"	31	—Salem and Coimbatore.
"	8	—Trichinopoly, Tanjore, and S. Arcot.
"	6	—Madura.
"	3	—Tinnevelly.
"	116	—Total.

It will be seen from the trade and cultivation figures given above, that Cocanada is responsible for 50 to 60 p. c. of the total trade, and the tract it represents for 40 p. c. of the total cultivation. The Dindigul country does at the utmost represent only 10 p. c. of the total area, and Tuticorin, where the Dindigul cigars should be shipped, sends only 9 p. c. of the total tobacco trade of the Presidency.

We are therefore surprised why the Government should have chosen Dindigul of all places for their investigations. It may be contended that the neighbourhood of that place produces better cigar-leaf than that of the Godavari, Kistna delta, whose produce is merely exported in an unmanufactured state; and also that the cigar trade is now double of what it was in 1893-94, excepting the unprecedented fall in foreign exports during 1903-04, and consequently deserves encouragement. In reply to these arguments, it may be pointed out that far vaster, if not influential, interests are involved in the Circars and Coimbatore crops; and that though the cigar trade is a rising one, it fluctuates greatly, whereas the trade in the unmanufactured article is quite steady.

No doubt it should be conceded that the Government have recently somewhat realised the importance of the Delta tobacco, as may be seen from the concessions granted to Mr. T. H. Barry of Cocanada who is to conduct, under Government supervision, experiments with exotic varieties of tobacco on a piece of 150 acres of *lanka* land leased to him by the Government for 6 years. Mr. Barry is not a scientist, and the best that could be expected of him is, that he would introduce exotic varieties and grow them carefully. But it is understood that foreign varieties have a tendency to deteriorate. Moreover, there is also the theory, not quite established though, that cross-fertilisation is injurious to tobacco, and the minuteness of the seed might facilitate inadvertent crossing through the agency of the wind. Even granting that these two objections are untenable, it cannot be denied that the improvement of the native tobacco "from within" will be desirable in itself. The rich alluvial soil of the Godavari and Kistna *lankas* will be a favourable factor to begin with, in any such experiments. We therefore urge that proper scientific investigations be made in this as yet unexplored field also, and the Coimbatore tract as well.

It should not be understood from the above remarks, that we have failed to appreciate the generous intentions which prompted the two Government measures; nor that we advocate the abandon-

ment of a task once begun half-way before its completion; nor again, that we deem the interests involved in this industry to be so weighty as to demand immediate attention to the detriment of others which are engaging the present attention of the Agricultural Department.

Before concluding, we cannot but recall to the minds of the public the two welcome announcements made by the Government on the last Budget occasion, that the services of a Tobacco Expert would be secured for the Pusa Research Institute, where provision has also been made for an up-to-date curing-house; and that Madras would soon be given an Agricultural Chemist, who might be expected to tackle the complex problems arising from natural defects.

"AGRICULTURE."